THE MADRAS
CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
MAGAZINE.

"*They are slaves who dare not be*
In the right with two or three."

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THE MADRAS
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VOL. XX. JULY, 1902. No. 1.

THE "CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE."

THE issue with this number of the Index for a yearly volume naturally forces upon the Editor's attention the magnitude of his indebtedness for the help he has so freely received during the year. Many whose assistance has been invaluable find no mention in that list, colleagues and friends who month by month contribute reviews, notes, summaries of periodical literature which are not the least valued parts of the Magazine, and assist with advice which is always welcome. Nobody can read the names of contributors given in the Index without seeing something of what they mean. Many of them are names well-known far and wide, whose time is precious, and for whose shortest articles publishers compete. All are names of busy men, men who are moulding public opinion or working in some way for the good of man. Among them too are young men of talent passing through their period of struggle, when time and trouble given without remuneration involve self-sacrifice. To one and all the Editor would render his thanks, joining with them, as he confidently can, those of their readers too. For their help has been given, given freely, from interest in the people of India and a desire to take some part in that work of aiding their progress and enlightenment which the Madras Christian College is carrying on. The help they have rendered is an expression of the loyalty of the *alumni* of the College and the intelligent sympathy of its friends.

Nor would the Editor omit here to acknowledge the aid which a Magazine like this receives from those who send to it periodicals in exchange and books for review. Without such co-operation it would be deprived of much of its usefulness. It is easy to dismiss this as a mere matter of business, but there are few journals, in India at least, of which the desire to spread light

is not as much the aim as pecuniary gain, and it is hard to mention any great publishing firm to-day which has not similar ideals. In those with which the Magazine has intercourse we recognise partners in our work, and we rejoice if, as they help us by bringing to our notice the tendencies of public opinion which they perceive and the publications by which they seek to instruct or guide the mind of our generation, we may help them by making their work known to our readers or rendering it more useful by suggestion or friendly criticism.

A similar acknowledgment may be made in reference to the Indian Governments which have sent us official publications. Even where no direct use is made of them they help to inform those who conduct such a Magazine and to fit them better for their work. And to place before men who can at least claim to take an independent view of official action reviews of the administration, is at any rate a sign that a Government desires to govern in a way to deserve the approval of intelligent non-officials.

Turning from the past to the future we have no change to indicate in plan or policy or tone. The Magazine exists to continue and to make more widespread the training of the College. Its interest is as broad as—or even broader than—that of the College, and embraces all that helps to make the complete and perfected man. All help that can make it more effective on any side of its work will be cordially welcomed. It looks with confidence to those who have made their own the principles of the College and who are in sympathy with its ideals to lend it their aid as in the past for the instruction and guidance of the new India that is arising around us.

F. W. Kellett.

THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS.[1]

In treating of the Christian doctrine of the Forgiveness of Sins, it seems desirable first to spend a little while in the definition of the terms employed. The English verb *to forgive* signifies etymologically, in its primary sense, *to give up*, or *renounce*, one's resentment against wrong done to oneself; thus Wyclif (in the 14th Century) writes, in his *Paternoster*: "Men might forgive the rancour of their heart to their neighbours."[2] In this subjective sense the expression is now obsolete. At the same time, objectively, the word denoted *to forego, to dispense with*, compensation for wrong done or the payment of a debt due to oneself, being construed in this signification with a dative of the person concerned; as for instance in Matthew xviii. 32, "I forgave thee all that debt." Or the thing forgiven may be omitted, so that the verb is complemented by a personal object alone, as in the words of Jesus in Matthew xviii. 35, "So shall my heavenly Father do unto you, if ye forgive not every one his brother from your hearts." In this latter usage *forgive* is synonymous with *pardon* which was derived from *pardonner*, its French equivalent. Now when we speak of "the forgiveness of sin," the idea which attached primarily to the effect of wrong,—that is, to the resentment in the mind of the person wronged, or to the compensation due from the wrong-doer —is transferred to *the wrong itself* which involves this liability: a man "forgives *the sin*" of another when he gives up the anger provoked in him by this sin, or the satisfaction due to him from the sinner, or both at once. In God's forgiveness of sin, as this is set forth and promised in the Gospel, these two remissions are together included.

The English word forgiveness thus faithfully reproduces the Greek *aph-esis*, the term commonly used in the New Testament to denote the act above described, whether proceeding from God or man. By its derivation this Greek noun signifies a *sending off*, *letting-go*, *re-mission*; it is followed by an object either of the *person* or *thing*. Its use was associated in ordinary life with the very common experience of punishment by fine and of imprisonment

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[1] No. IX. of a series of papers in which will be clearly and concisely set forth those great truths of the Christian religion on which experience has shown that Indian readers require the clearest explanation. Most of the papers in the series will, it is hoped, be written by well-known theologians of the West.—EDITOR.

[2] The spelling of this sentence is modernised.

for debt. The sinner is conceived (for example in our Lord's parable of the Two Debtors, in Matthew xviii. 21-35) as an insolvent debtor cast into prison; he is "forgiven," or his "trespass" is "forgiven," when the sum with which he was debited in his master's books is "remitted" and the debtor himself is accordingly "released"; the remission and release are expressed by the same term, *aphesis.* Once indeed, in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (iii. 25)—a kindred expression is used to describe the provisional forgiveness of sin attainable before the coming of Christ, *viz., paresis,*—"the *passing-over* of the sins done aforetime" a text to which we may refer at a later point.

Our Christian ideas of sin and its forgiveness have their roots in the Old Testament. There we find three verbs in use rendered "to forgive" or "pardon," which introduce us to other conceptions of the act. The derivation of one of these terms (*salach*)—applied to the Divine action in 1 Kings viii. 30, &c. and elsewhere—is obscure, but the word employed in Deut. xxi. 8, Psalm lxxviii. 38 Jerem. xviii. 23, 2 Chron. xxx. 18, 19, bears importantly on the development of the Biblical idea of Forgiveness. This verb, *kipper,* —used of *God's* forgiveness alone—means radically *to cover* (the offence, or offender). Its signification was associated with the ritual of the Jewish sacrifices for sin, especially that of the Day of Atonement: see Leviticus iv. 1-7, 13-20, xvi. 1-28, Numbers v. 8, &c. Under this expression sin is thought of, not as a debt to be remitted, but as an *iniquity, blood-guilt,* moral *stain and foulness* in person or people, which is offensive in God's sight and calls for punishment at His hands, but which may be "covered over" by some suitable propitiatory offering and thus hidden (as it were) from the eyes of the Holy One, so that His punitive wrath shall not fall upon the sinner as otherwise it must have done. Since God proposes the satisfaction, since He promises to accept it and puts the offender in a position to offer it, He is said Himself to "cover" and in this way "forgive," the sin thus veiled from His view, on which, that is, He forbears to "look in judgment." Hence the form of prayer for pardon, so frequently meeting us in the Old Testament, of which we have a signal example in Psalm li. 9: "*Hide Thy face from* my sin, and blot out all mine iniquities." Thrice in the New Testament Forgiveness is represented, in sentences borrowed from the Old Testament, by the same verb "to cover": in Romans iv. 7, 1 Peter iv. 8, James v. 20. Wherever in the New Testament writings the terms *propitiation, atonement,* and the like, are used in con-

nexion with the removal of sin, the Israelite doctrine which we have just explained lies at their basis.

The third Hebrew synonym for "to forgive" may have either *God* or *man* for subject; it is *nasa'*, *to lift off, carry away*: compare, for the New Testament, John i. 29, 1. John iii. 5. This figure represents sin as a *burden* of shame or fear, a tyranny by evil, crushing the soul of the sinner, which the forgiver removes by the act of pardon,—as, for instance, in the case of Joseph and his brethren in Genesis i. 17, or Samuel and Saul in 1 Samuel xv. 25. The words *kipper* and *nasa'* thus both imply in the Israelite conscience a strong and lively sense of sin as (personal, or collective) *culpability;* it is realised as a grave moral offence, an act of turpitude and wrong, which provokes the Divine Justice to severe punishment and oppresses the sinner's mind with remorseful apprehension.

Now the language of the Bible as we have analysed it above, implies certain momentous assumptions underlying the problems involved in the Forgiveness of Sins. First among them we note *the personal being of God.* Forgiveness is wholly a personal act; it is a transaction taking place between two beings capable of thought, will, affection toward each other, the subjects, upon both sides, of moral sensibility and judgment, of love and anger, approval and disapproval, of personal rights and duties. A man does not, in any real sense, "forgive" a storm or a sunstroke for the damage it has caused him; he forgives his brother man for injury done. Nor does he receive "forgiveness" from any abstract law, from certain powers of the universe with which he has come into collision—the laws of nature know nothing of pity and indulgence—but from a God who compassionates and loves him. In this respect human relationships supply an index, the highest and best we can find, to the relations which bind God to His intelligent and responsible creatures. "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear Him": thus the Hebrew faith declares. When Jesus warned His disciples, "If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive your trespasses." He not only pronounced a severe judgment on the unforgiving spirit, but He taught that God's forgiveness is analogous to that of men towards each other; that while the former is immeasurably purer and loftier than the latter, it is an act intrinsically of the same nature and that involves the like moral considerations. We must not seek for God in the uncon-

scious, the irresponsible and inert and impersonal,—in the *infra-personal*; but in the conscious and spiritual, in the loving and intelligent, in the personal raised to its highest potency,—in wisdom, righteousness, truth, mercy at their summit and infinitude.

Another assumption not to be escaped is that of the *supreme reality of moral distinctions*; and following upon this, the reality and the heavy penal consequences of sin in human nature. Forgiveness implies guilt; the Christian Forgiveness of Sin implies guilt before God, a dark stain and criminality attaching to the race itself. As between man and man, that which is "forgiven" is not a mere weakness or mistake or misfortune that can be "excused"; it is, in the strict sense of the term, an *injury*, a wrong in some degree knowingly and consentingly done to another; it is not a mere evil suffered from one's fellow that one pardons, but an evil for which he is responsible and of which he was the doer when he might and ought to have acted otherwise. If there was *malice* in the injury and it was inflicted with design to hurt, this raises the guilt to a higher point and enhances the nobility of forgiveness. But any wrong thing done, though without design against particular persons, any breach of moral law, awakens just resentment in the persons affected by it; indeed it calls forth the condemnation of bystanders not individually suffering, for such a deed is an offence against human right itself, an injury and disgrace to the whole realm of personality. In the light of the Christian revelation therefore, as this discloses man's affinity to God, and His universal and individualizing love and care for men, every wrong done by any person whatever, and against whomsoever, *touches Him*; every such offence is virtually and in effect committed against God, since He is the Ruler of the universe, the Author and Administrator of moral law, and the Guardian of the rights of all creatures. "*Against Thee, Thee only*, have I sinned," cries David to his Maker in the anguish of penitence [Psalm li.], "and done that which is evil *in Thy sight*." It is this fact which gives to wrong-doing amongst men its most serious character and stamps it with a solemn religious import,—which in fact constitutes it "sin" in the Christian sense of this term, as that which strikes against the authority of Almighty God, which provokes His displeasure and chastisement, and involves the sinner in dread consequences reaching indefinitely beyond this present world. Regarded from this point of view, every violation of the

Divine law for men, though it were committed only in thought and intent and should take no sensible or overt shape, is yet a sin against God, the All-knowing and All-holy, which grieves Him and causes estrangement between the soul and Him, bringing thus in every case, and in exact proportion, its meed of punishment after it.

Now it appears to follow from the above definition of Sin, as being a personal offence against God committed in the transgression of His law and opposition to His holy will, that it is *capable of forgiveness.* However terrible and widespread an evil it may be, its amelioration and removal are seen to be possible. The very culpability and criminality of sin affords a ground of hope. "Nature," it is said, "knows nothing of forgiveness"; this is true of unconscious nature, in the operation of material and irresponsible forces. But *human nature* knows much of forgiveness; and it is there, in the working of our own better self, that we discover the mirror of the Godhead, not in mechanical sequence or the play of blind and reasonless instinct. You drink a deadly potion or thrust your hand into the burning flame,—no repentance makes the slightest difference to the physical consequences of your rash or even unconscious act; but you rob a generous friend, or injure the name of some noble-hearted man, and a sincere repentance upon your part makes all the difference in the personal relations that will ensue,—although the latter deed may be incomparably worse than the former. Now upon the Christian theory, the latter and not the former of these experiences is the guide to the dealing of God with sin and the moral needs of mankind. "If ye, being evil," said Jesus, "know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father!" So he taught us to pray, "Forgive us our trespasses, *as we forgive* them that trespass against us." Forgiveness, then is conceivable, if God be personal, and if personal qualities are sovereign in His being. Forgiveness does not indeed efface the material consequences of a transgression; but it reverses the moral relations between the transgressor and his Maker, and his own kind. In the long run, those moral relations react upon and transform the outward and natural relations of our lot.

Forgiveness is theoretically possible, upon the Christian view of life; but it is practically *difficult.* While forgiveness by God of His sinning creatures is analogous to that exercised by man towards man, differences arise in the two cases that must not be forgotten. There are two extreme views upon this question,

between which we have to steer our way. Those wh personality of God and the responsibility of man, personality to a subordinate and transient factor in exi of course find no place, and no need, for forgiveness. philosophy, repentance is useless, resentment is irration a part of the chain of necessary sequence which runs the world of space and time and embraces the whole being; the present is absolutely determined by the pa or *karma*, governs everything—for men, for beasts, or go On the other hand, those who recognise the personal ele God and interpret His action by human analogies, but religious sense is imperfect or their conscience low, as moral laxity with the Divine character, and so make forgiveness a cheap and easy thing. To such a thinker God is represented in the 50th Psalm as exclaiming, "Thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thyself!"—"God is a father," they say; "He is great and compassionate, and cannot be reached by human injury. Surely He looks with indulgence on His weak, foolish human offspring. He cannot be angry at their peccadilloes, or need 'propitiation' and persuasion to win pardon from Him. He bids men forgive each other freely and repeatedly for the worst offences, and where restitution is impossible; will He not do the same Himself?" This mood of thought betrays a defective sense of the evil of sin against God and a faulty apprehension of the nature of God Himself. It arises from a light and superficial view of life, a frivolous optimism; while the opposite error arises from a dark and fatalistic view of life, from an unhappy pessimism.

Not even do men, in any proper sense, *forgive* each other without some satisfaction for the wrong done: "If thy brother," said Jesus to His apostles, "sin against thee seven times in the day, and seven times *turn again to thee saying, I repent*, thou shalt forgive him." Punishment may be spared, restitution forgone; but the sinner cannot be "forgiven"—cannot, that is, be restored to favour and esteem, and to the moral status he had forfeited,—without regret on his part for his misdoing and the making of such amends as lie within his power.

Repentance, therefore, is an indispensable condition of forgiveness. But it appears that as between man and God repentance is not of itself sufficient to restore the breach made by transgression. Indeed mere repentance is not always adequate in

human affairs. In matters of private life it may be, but not so when public interests are involved. The sovereign, or the head of a State, may completely forgive a wrong-doer on the assurance of repentance, so far as the matter affects his own disposition and his personal feeling and attitude toward the sinner; and yet he may decide that a certain measure of chastisement is necessary to vindicate the broken law and ensure respect for it, and to restrain for the future both the offender himself and others who might be tempted to imitate his act. In such cases, impunity would often be the greatest unkindness to all concerned. The blending of pardon with penalty, the tempering of mercy with chastisement, under these circumstances, in no degree compromises the benevolence of the ruler, while it exhibits his *righteousness*,—the just sense in him and faithful execution of all that the moral exigencies of the case require. Such a "righteousness of God" Christians are taught to see in the forgiveness—or "justification," as St. Paul styles it (Romans i. 17, iii. 19-26, v. 16-18, &c.)—which is proferred to mankind on the basis of the propitiatory sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and upon condition of their personal repentance and faith, evoked thereby.

Further, in the case above supposed, the satisfaction which the father or ruler of the state deemed necessary to outraged right, might be such as the culprit was unable of himself to render —a fine which he could not pay, an infliction which he could not endure or an act of homage, a humiliation and self-surrender, of which he was morally incapable on his own initiative. In this plight forgiveness would be impossible, with the best will on the part of the Judge, and a moral impasse, a dead-lock must result, *unless a mediator were forthcoming*—some intercessor in a position to represent the criminal, who could and would render satisfaction in his place and bring him at the same time to a proper state of mind. This need of sacrificial intervention our race has deeply felt. Under many forms of religion, the sense of guilt and of helplessness to remove it have driven men to offer up sacrifices of animal, or in some cases of human, victims, in the attempt to appease the just anger of their gods and to avert the intolerable chastisement they had incurred. However much there has been in these rites of atonement that we shudder at as cruel and revolting, and however poorly they have served their purpose of "taking away sins" (see Hebrews x. 1—4), they have expressed, blindly and pathetically enough, an irrepressible instinct

and a desperate need of the human heart,—the search for a propitiation. If Christianity, with its doctrine of the Cross, be true, God the All-righteous has provided, and Jesus Christ as the Priest, the Representative and Redeeming Kinsman of mankind, has offered in the sacrifice of Calvary "a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world" (words of the Communion Liturgy). St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John, and the unknown but profoundly inspired writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with one consent point to the death to which their master was condemned by Pontius Pilate on the accusation of the Jews, as "putting away sin," "taking away the sin of the world," "cleansing us from all sin," as "making peace" and effecting "reconciliation" or "atonement" between God and men, and thus "opening a new and living way" by which men "draw near to God" who were "once far off," since they were "separate from Christ" and "alienated from the life of God, in evil works."

Jesus Christ warranted this view of His death, afterwards taken by His universal Church, when He announced shortly beforehand that He "had come not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give His life a ransom [*i.e.*, a redemption-price] in place of many" [Matthew xx. 28]. Again, in the act of instituting the commemorative rite of the Last Supper, He said with reference to the strange death He was about to undergo, "This cup is [signifies] the new covenant in my blood, which is poured out for many unto remission of sins" [Matthew xxvi. 28]. Still later the Redeemer quoted a sentence from Isaiah liii.—the chapter of prophecy which above all others teaches the doctrine of Vicarious Sacrifice: "This which is written must yet be accomplished in me, *And he was numbered with the transgressors*" [Luke xxii. 37]; the prophetic words continue, "Yet he bare the sin of many," and made intercession for the transgressors" (ver. 12). This allusion gives unmistakable evidence of the light in which Jesus regarded His own death and of the direction which His thoughts were taking in the hour of His passion.

That the end thus contemplated was, in our Lord's view, accomplished by His death, and that a working basis was thereby laid down for the universal forgiveness of human sin, is apparent from the terms in which immediately upon His resurrection He instructed and commissioned His disciples, saying to them as He pointed out passage after passage relating to Himself in the Old

Testament, "Thus it is written that the Christ should suffer, and rise from the dead on the third day, and that in His name repentance and remission of sins should be proclaimed unto all the nations" (Luke xxiv. 46, 47). A single reference will suffice, in lieu of many, to show that the proclamation of pardon and of the abolition of sin on the ground of the propitiatory death of Jesus Christ was the burden of the first Christian preaching, was in fact the gospel, "the good news of God," on the lips of the Apostles; it is found in the conclusion of St. Paul's sermon delivered in the Synagogue of Pisidian Antioch [Acts xiii. 38, 39]: "Be it known, therefore, to you, sirs and brethren, that *through this man* is proclaimed to you the forgiveness of sins. In Him every one that believes is justified from all things,—from which you could not be justified in the law of Moses."

It only remains to be added that as the last quotation intimates, *faith, i.e.* a personal trust in the sacrifice offered by Jesus Christ, by which the transgressor associates himself with this sacrifice and recognizes it as offered on his behalf—is the single condition upon which the personal realisation of its benefits depends. The propitiation was effected "once for all" and by "One for all"; and each of the "all" makes the sacrifice of the great Representative his own at the moment when he claims it and relies upon it to this effect. Faith is essentially the appropriating activity, the recipient posture, of the soul. Its logic is expressed in our familiar Methodist couplet:

> "Who did for every sinner die,
> Hath surely died *for me!*"

Such trust in the sacrifice of Christ as availing for sin, in the nature of things, presupposes the *repentance* which we have already insisted upon. One cannot trust in a Saviour from sin, without a sincere sense of sin and the wish to be saved from it; and this is what a Christian repentance means. The forgiveness realised upon these terms, with the blessings of renewed consecration to God and communion with God, and of final deliverance from death, ensuing therefrom, constitutes what we Christians call "salvation." This is, in a word, the boon which the religion of Christ offers universally: "God sent His Son into the world...that the world through Him might be saved" [John iii. 17]. "Repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ" were, accordingly, the two things which the apostle Paul, the greatest preacher that Christianity has ever known, "testified both to Jews

and Greeks" [Acts xx. 21]; these are laid down throughout the New Testament as the fundamental demands which God now makes upon the race of mankind, these are the simple and gracious conditions upon which He holds out to a world of sinners the immense benefit of a complete and everlasting forgiveness, a salvation which redeems our nature from the burden and bondage of its guilt, restores to it inward purity and peace, and raises it to eternal life in the possession of a conscious and joyous and imperishable fellowship with God.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

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*TRADITIONS IN HISTORY.**

I.

THERE are two passions or desires, which are totally antagonistic in character and effects, but which yet dwell side by side in the human heart, *viz.*, the love of the old, and the love of the new. We all love the old; we love old homes, old faces, old books; the more new sights and persons we see, the more strongly we are drawn to the old and the familiar: a thousand memories and associations, some pleasant, some sad, gather round old things, forming a rich framework to them and hallowing them for ever to our minds. On the other hand, we are curious and inquisitive by nature, fond of change, novelty, and variety: and herein lies one of the conditions of our progress. Both these desires influence human life and human history. The love of the old influences individual life and character in the form of habits: it influences history in the form of traditions. Traditions bear much the same relation to history that habits do to the character of an individual.

The place and importance of habit in forming the character of the individual are generally recognised. Man, says one proverb, is a bundle of habits. Habit is second nature. Sow an action, you reap a habit: sow a habit, you reap a character. But there are no such proverbs to recognise the existence of forces which affect history in much the same way as habits do personal character, and which act in the same unconscious and silent but imperious and all-embracing manner. Three factors are reckoned generally as making history—geographical and physical peculiarities, economic conditions, and great men. But neither the

* A paper read before the Historical Society, Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

configuration of the earth with its effect on character and pursuits, nor economic conditions, the index at once and the basis of the well or ill being of a country, nor even great men, who act as spokesmen of great movements and set forces moving which till then lay inert, influence nations so powerfully, so permanently, so secretly as those beliefs, customs, and practices which may conveniently be brought under the term traditions. It is true races and nations are not affected by them in exactly the same manner or degree. Some, the Athenians for example of the ancient world, the Florentines of the mediæval age, and the Americans of the present day, have an undue love of the new, the strange, the startling: have no reverence for, and are not in any measure affected by old traditions. Some other races are born conservatives, creatures of habit and recognised custom; for examples of these we must turn to the East, to Persia, to India, above all to China. There remain a few others which have two parties within them representing the two sides: the one supplementing, checking, and balancing the other. But however racial differences may alter the degree with which the force acts, the force is there all the same, and influences history. Two or three examples may be given. One of the greatest factors in Indian history is the system of caste there prevalent; and the general belief about the origin of the four castes is this. Brahma, the Creator, wished that men should be: immediately there came forth out of his mouth certain men, these were the Brahmins: some others out of his loins, these were the second caste, the warriors and landowners: and some others still out of his feet, these were the Vaisyas or artisans. There is a fourth class, the Sudras, who did not come out of God at all, but were the offspring of fell demons and spirits, ordained by a benignant Providence to be slaves to the other three. Again, the Dorians, pressed by invaders from the north, crossed the Gulf of Corinth and first ravaged, then conquered, and finally settled in the Peloponnese. But they were a small body in the midst of a large and hostile population ready at any moment to revolt against them and drive them out: and in order to retain their possession and conciliate the original people they made out a long story, generally called the Return of the Heraclidæ, with which we are all familiar. Again, we are often surprised to read of northern barbarians, lightly armed, undisciplined and fighting confusedly, holding their own against the legions of the Empire and vanquishing them.

The explanation lies in the traditions that inspired them. They believed that cravens and cowards were allowed to lie on the battle-field, food for birds of prey: while the souls of those who fell bravely in battle were wafted on the wings of the spirits of Asgard and Valhalla and there regaled with wine and good cheer.

There are two interesting lines along which our subject can be developed. One of these has often been dealt with and may therefore be dismissed with a few remarks: the other has scarcely been touched. In the first of these aspects traditions are regarded as the materials or sources for writing history, and such questions as these are discussed: How are we to deal with traditions? How far can we rely on them? How can we separate the fact within from the clothing in which Time and Imagination have draped it? In the other aspect traditions are regarded as things having organic existence: of whose nature, origin, and development we are anxious to learn. It is with this aspect that I shall mainly concern myself: and for the sake of convenience shall map out the remainder of the paper into the following heads:

i. What are traditions: what are their characteristics? how are they classified?

ii. How do traditions spring, grow, develop, and finally come to their ruin?

iii. How do they influence history?

II.

There are two senses in which the word tradition is used. It may mean in the first place stories which may have no basis at all in fact or have only the slightest basis: *e.g.*, legends in the early history of Rome: legends concerning the childhood of Jesus. The three instances I have given above of traditions are instances of this sort: and I have given them purposely to shew how even stories, completely manufactured by the imagination, may have effect on history. But the word tradition is also used in another sense—as when we speak of the traditions of our ancient and honourable College or University. The traditions of Emmanuel would include among other things the fact that we had a Senior Wrangler 125 years ago: the blues and other distinguished persons, like Harvard, Law, Temple, we have produced, and the College Benefactors whom we are presently to commemorate. Combining these two senses, the word traditions may be taken to mean those things which are handed down from father to son,

and from generation to generation, and which owe their value and weight to their being so handed down, independent of their being any rightness or truth about them. This would give a wide denotation to the term, and would include not only myths and stories which have no foundation of fact, to which we may or may not give credence, but also modes of thought, belief, and action, expressions, proverbs, modes of dealing with people, customs and practices which are retained consciously or unconsciously because they are ancient. Such traditions may be found in abundance, not only for our College and Alma Mater, but for races, peoples and countries as well. A few examples may be given. The Greek gods were traditions. The Spartan polity was a tradition. The everyday life of the Greek and the Roman was a tissue of tradition. The Roman tribal divisions and many parts of their organisation were based on tradition. The custom of observing Christmas: the present custom of keeping Sunday as the Sabbath: the French habit of inviting your neighbour to dinner when there are 13 at table are all traditions. The English Constitution, according to Prof. Dicey, is a tradition. The Mediæval Roman Empire was one of the most gigantic traditions known to history: and the Pope himself is nothing more.

Two or three prominent characteristics of tradition may here be noted. 1. In the first place traditions are always the property of a definitely limited body, a family, a tribe or a nation, the members of which are strongly affected by them. They have grown up with the people itself, its joys and sorrows, its heroes and antagonists, its destinies and experiences. To them it is a sacred domestic possession which nobody else could understand or appreciate—their pride and discipline, an inexhaustible source of instruction and admonition for every succeeding generation. 2. Secondly, traditions, especially those which have no basis in fact, flourish best in the first stages of a people's history, before the birth of the critical or inquiring spirit. A critical age is not only fatal to the growth of traditions but also to their influence or effect. We, the sons of a degenerate age, are not moved by desire, fired with ardour or inspired to high thoughts and deeds to the same extent as those who lived in the good days of old. 3. Again, as Professor Freeman quaintly remarks, they have this striking peculiarity, that the further we go from the original source, the more wonderful both in character and effect they become.

The classification of traditions is a somewhat difficult task.

Several principles of division are available, but none of them satisfy the condition of "mutual exclusiveness and collective exhaustiveness." The following may suit our purpose best. Traditions concerning man's work are sharply distinguishable both in origin and in influence from traditions concerning his life. In every country which has a separate existence and a history, there grow up traditions regarding arts, industries and trade, which are universally accepted and obeyed with religious faithfulness. A nation generally holds to one style of architecture, one set of maxims and principles with reference to higher arts like painting, sculpture, music, and lower arts like pottery, engraving, carving. Certain professions and trades are always overcrowded, and some others, equally useful and dignified, regarded with disgust. The influence of tradition is even more prominent in the field of literature, where principles of style, forms of thought and expression, and modes of arrangement become settled fairly early, and thenceforth play the tyrant over every succeeding aspirant to fame. The second great class of traditions have reference to man's life; first in his individual capacity, then in his position as a member of society, and finally as a citizen of a State—traditions of private life, social, and political traditions. The way in which in a nation the sovereign power is distributed and exercised: the amount of control the State has over the individual: the feeling with which the citizen regards the governing body are all instances of political traditions. Social traditions form a wider class and would include distinctions of class and caste, the unwritten laws concerning marriage, divorce, and other important matters, the way in which one is expected to behave towards a relative, a neighbour, a stranger, dinner-table etiquette, and drawing-room etiquette. Traditions of private life form the widest class of all, and will include not only religious views and ideas, but also several little details too silly for the consideration of our august body, such as dress, treatment of wife, children, servants, the amount of independence to be allowed to a grown-up son or his wife.

III.

We now come to the second and most difficult part of our task—the examination of the origin, development and final overthrow of traditions.

The faculties concerned in the building up and preservation of traditions reduce themselves on the simplest analysis to three—

imagination, memory, and family or national sentiment. When for instance a great national event, like the deliverance of Israel from Egypt or the overthrow of the early Roman monarchy is first heard related, the imagination forms a very vivid picture of it with all the accessories of fact and local colouring at hand. This of itself ought to be sufficient to stamp it on the memory: but that faculty is so treacherous and careless in preserving the images entrusted to its keeping, that an additional precaution is taken, and patriotism or family sentiment pays bribes to secure its preservation. Imagination takes the bare skeleton of fact and drapes it in appropriate clothing; memory preserves it: national or family sentiment rivets it forcibly on the memory. These are the only faculties necessary when a tradition is in its first simple state: but when it grows in the manner we shall presently study, first into a series of stories centring round a person or event, then into the scheme of a mighty epic poem, and finally, as it sometimes does, into a whole system of mythology—all the deepest and most exalted powers of the human mind, the qualities needed to make the poet, the artist, the patriot, are laid under contribution.

With reference to origin or source there are few traditions which have absolutely no basis in fact. This rule has exceptions. For instance, we believe a great many stories about the early profligacy and wickedness of Henry V. which are completely counter to fact—all the while he was fighting his father's battles bravely and well both in Wales and France. But, generally speaking, there must be at the bottom of a tradition, there almost always is actual fact—either a great person, a great event, or a great result, whose real explanation is lost. When a great man, like Moses, Mahomet, Lycurgus, Charlemagne, towering above the rest of humanity, dies, leaving behind him memories of great thoughts expressed and great deeds done, the people who cherish his memory gather together all they know and did not know about him and weave a great web of tradition round him which goes down to posterity in the shape of cycles of legends. Another favourite field for the play of imagination and memory and love of the past is a great national event, such as the passage of the Red Sea, the war against Troy, the early wars of Rome. Sometimes such events themselves are forgotten; but their monuments and results remain; and in order to explain them stories are completely fashioned out of the imagination, with all the appropriate

machinery for exciting wonder—gods and battles and fair women, and marvellous feats of strength and skill. The story of the capture of Bresa in Lesbos, the Roman account of the war with the Etruscans, the return of the Heraclidæ, are some among the numerous instances that can be found of this prolific source of tradition.

Traditions, thus brought into existence, can be preserved for the use of posterity in one of two ways. They can either be retained in the memory or reduced to writing. But memory is very untrustworthy: and in the age in which traditions flourish best the art of writing has not yet been invented or is the prized possession of only a select few. Other means are therefore invented by genius inspired by patriotism to rescue them from oblivion. *Songs* or hymns offer exceptional facilities for such preservation, both on account of the ease with which they can be committed to memory and the constraint imposed on fact by fetters of force and rhyme. The richest treasuries of tradition are the song-books of the nations—the Vedas of India, the Sagas of Scandinavia, and the Homer of Greece. So highly indeed did ancient Sanskrit writers value verse as a method of preservation that they committed their philosophy and grammar, their medicine, and even their mathematics to its keeping. *Proper names* with meanings often preserve peculiarities and traits of character. Isaac means the laugher or gentle; Jacob, cunning; Menelaus, might of the people; Eucalygon, restless; Lycurgus, wolf-repeller. *Proverbs* are other means adopted to keep alive the memory of facts which might otherwise have been lost. 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' 'If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the mountain.' A more substantial and trustworthy method is the erection of *tombs*, *monuments*, and *temples*, calculated to weather the storms of centuries and remind distant ages of the glories of their ancestors—more substantial and trustworthy because they are not subject, as things written are, to the tender mercies of transcribers and commentators. There is always a great amount of difficulty in interpreting them correctly: but that does not detract from their value as sources of information. Another very effectual means by which man has tried to preserve tradition is by creating *institutions* like games, festivals, processions, the Dasaratha of the Hindus, the Mohurram of the Moslems, the Panathenæa of the Athenians—which would remind posterity annually and in a very vivid manner of the great events in the

nation's history. *Genealogies*, such as we meet with in the Bible, in the Indian Epics and in the Gothic account of the origin of the Amals seem to be attempts by later ages to fill up gaps caused by their forgetting the multitude of heroes and legends of an earlier and now dim and distant period. Traditions take charge of *numbers* also: but unfortunately almost always take so much liberty with them that they become absolutely useless. The tendency to exaggerate works side by side with the tendency to reduce to round or sacred numbers like 3, 5, 7, 12, 40. The number of times for instance the number 40 occurs in the life of Moses is very remarkable. The Maha Bharata speaks of seven giants who lived in ancient India, and were each of them endowed with the strength of 10,000 elephants.

Sometimes, in examination rooms, we forget our facts and have to piece out together as far as we can our answers from the imagination: but it would be difficult to point out the several ways in which we can so exert our faculties. It is very much more difficult to trace and generalise upon the thousand and one ways in which the mind wants to make up for the defects of memory by drawing on the imagination. There are always a number of loose stories afloat, like the story of Uriah in the Bible or that of Whewell's learning—which go about with blanks to their names and which are selected from, when they are suitable, to embellish the traditions we are relating. The development of traditions is also coloured by the events in the internal and external history of a nation—partaking of its defeats and triumphs, its sadness and its joys. They likewise receive a certain amount of colouring from the minds of those men whose names are labelled with them: the Jewish Rabbis always religiously repeated the authorities for their dicta: and Plutarch has a great many stories derived from this or that person of antiquity. The stages through which a tradition, especially of the mythic and legendary type, passes are probably these—first a simple set of traditions: then after a due lapse of time a cycle of legends gathering round one hero: then the plot of an epic poem: and finally a whole system of mythology. Greek and Roman antiquity forms the best illustration of the process. A hero arises: those who witnessed his exploits or first heard them related form a vivid picture of them with all the accessory facts that really occurred. Time passes: the story passes from hand to hand: more heroes arise with more traditions round them: and in the

vast accumulation only the main lines of the original hero's activity are remembered. These look very bare: fancy comes to the rescue, clothes them with new and appropriate vesture, stories in keeping with the hero's character are tacked on: and a poet arises and fixes the cycle of legends in a poem. This is the first stage. More time elapses: more heroes arise with their peculiar associations: but the national feeling cannot bear to see them all unrelated: the distance of time and space between them is ignored and all worked into a central system or unity and perhaps elevated to the dignity of gods. This is the second or epic stage. When more time elapses, the religion of the people, their views regarding the origin of the universe, their system of natural philosophy are all mixed up with traditions of heroes and national events: gods enter more freely into the world, take sides in battles, have their favourites and dwell side by side with man. This is the mythic stage. Even in that portion of the Bible, our present form of which has filtered through many hands, this tendency, be it said with all reverence, is noticeable. In the time of Samuel and the Judges God's interference is indirect: but as we go farther back in point of time His influence is more direct and personal.

It is an easier task to describe the causes which led to the overthrow of traditions. Some of them decay and are ruined gradually owing to the influence of time; some others are pulled down suddenly and quickly; and some, especially those which affect large masses of men, come down with a great crash amid the smoke and thunder of a revolution. The germs of their destruction lie in the first place in themselves—beliefs and customs which were originally useful do not adapt themselves to changing conditions, or gather about them evil elements which work their ruin. The growth of a critical or inquiring spirit, which sifts every known fact, and examines the ground of every belief is another agent in the destruction. A third is the spirit of business and enterprise which refuses to be bound down by old rules but is ever seeking out new ways and methods. Intercourse with other nations, with beliefs and traditions of their own—facilitated in modern times by the appliances of civilization—also work in the same direction. But the greatest enemy of tradition is that great iron law of history which rules all things human in every age. "Everything that does not progress does inevitably deteriorate." The condition of all healthy existence, intellectual, physical or moral is activity, progress, advancement: and any race or nation

which does not advance but blindly follows old traditions is left behind in the race.

IV.

We come to surer and firmer ground when we try to answer the question, " Do traditions influence history ? "

In the first place traditions form a bond of unity in a race: and help to give it or preserve to it its own individuality. Prof. Seeley mentions language, government, and religion as the three bonds which weld heterogeneous elements into one homogeneous race or nation. He has left out some others, such as common blood, and boundaries, community of literature and of manners: and of these the most important is traditions.

Then traditions form the warp and woof of all primitive law: and the basis and persistent influence underlying the written and codified law that may come with civilization.

Again, the continuity of history, the logical and chronological sequence we observe in the march of events is due to the influence of traditions.

It goes without saying that they form national character. In the little details of everyday life as well as in all larger matters, social, political, or religious, the past has a weight and influence which are always forgotten by those who would reform.

Traditions settle the lines along which activity is to continue. Whether a nation shall be a land power or sea power, whether it shall distinguish itself in thought and literary activity, what arts, industries and manufactures shall be specialised by it are all in a large measure determined by traditions. It is not entirely a matter of chance that we always associate Tyre with purple, or China with silk, or Burma with lacquered ware.

There is no doubt that traditions form very inflammatory material; many a youth is roused to deeds of greatness and to emulation of the heroes and saints of yore by listening to stories from their lives: and patriots and prophets know their value too well to leave them out in their perorations.

They form the spirit and breath of the first poetry and literature of a country, moulding at once form and matter and influencing all succeeding generations profoundly.

On the other hand they may hinder progress by always working in a retrograde way.

It would be a very interesting task—but one which I have to give up for want of time and knowledge—to travel down the

stream of history, observing as we go along how its currents and eddies were influenced by traditions. But there is one particular tradition, the growth and working of which is pictured marvellously in a book which first suggested this Essay to me—that tradition is the mediæval Roman Empire, and the book is Bryce's treatise on the subject.

The question as to how far we can rely on traditions as sources or materials for the construction of history has not yet left the field of controversy. A few historians, with Herodotus at their head, are for taking them wholesale and treating them as if they were facts. Some others, and Thucydides throws in his lot with these, propose to cut away from them all that is mythical and improbable and acknowledge the rest as fact—a very mischievous and dangerous proceeding: but many historians of the present day, and Grote may be taken as a fair representative of these, consider them absolutely valueless as sources and would have nothing to do with them. This view, however, is too sweeping and sceptical: for on ultimate analysis we discover that traditions belong to the same genus as written evidence. The most painstaking historian cannot be present at all the events he relates but has often to base his account on information which may have passed through half-a-dozen hands before coming to him. Even a general who describes a battle he fought himself could not have been in all parts of the field at the same time, but must base some of his remarks on other people's witness. The reliability of such facts is only a little greater than that of traditions, which also similarly passed through several hands, perhaps fifty instead of half-a-dozen. In attempting to obtain the facts that underlie traditions we have to use the same rules of evidence and canons of historical research as in trying to decide between two conflicting accounts of a single event. In both cases we examine the statements by themselves, we examine them in the light of the facts which we already know for certain regarding the events or persons: we inquire whether it was anyone's interest to suppress and change the original statement: whether the author who makes the statement is a good or bad observer, whether he is well situated for observing, whether the facts are of a nature to be directly observed: whether he might, by sympathy and antipathy, vanity, deference to public opinion or force of circumstances, have altered or given a different form to his statement. We have also to use our knowledge of

how traditions grow and develop, to find out how far the original fact may have been distorted or coloured in its passage through so many brains. To reject them absolutely is to wilfully throw away weapons which may want a little cleaning up but which are furnished ready to hand: for they are valuable not only on account of the fact or facts embedded in them but also by reason of the side light they throw on other important questions. We need not believe that there is a germ of fact beneath the story of the Trojan War, that there might have been a conflict between some of the Greek States and one of the numerous cities that rose on the site of Ilion: but we must not on that account reject the very valuable information Homer gives incidentally about the division of the classes, the nature of the heroic monarchy, or the habits of society in that early age.

Moralists have uttered a great many platitudes on the importance of habit: I may be permitted to close this paper with one on traditions. As individuals we are continually forming habits: as members of society we are creating traditions. We are not solitary atoms suspended in the middle of the universe but are related in a thousand ways to those around us. Some of these relationships are imposed on us by nature and hence compulsory—we have no choice in the matter of the age, the country, the family we are born in; in our fathers, brothers, sisters, relatives. Some others are voluntary; we select our friends, our clubs and societies, our wives, our religious views. But whatever the nature of these relationships, in every one of them we are continually making and unmaking traditions: and all the aspirations of our youth, our education, our energy, our toil will be in vain if we do not take care that the traditions we break or pull down are the evil ones: and those in the building up of which we help are good.

PAUL APPASWAMY.

NATIVE CHRISTIAN NAMES.

MORE than half the Native Christians in India are Roman Catholics. Theirs is the elder sect and, it is believed, holds within its ranks much the larger proportion of recruits from the higher castes. We have heard that certain creatures acquire their fitness to survive by the ease with which they can assume the form and colour of surrounding objects, animate or inanimate. Insects have been known, which are so exactly of the colour of the dry stubble

or leaf in the midst of which they live that their foe is effectually deceived. Even so does the Roman Catholic Christian pass for one of the Hindus among whom he lives, and disarms suspicion. His Guru or Priest is known as Swamuluvaru, and it is but just to add that his ways of life recall to one's mind the indigenous ascetic rather than those of the Protestant clergyman who, much to the confusion of the ignorant ryot, is often the only one of his village that owns an upstairs house or a coach drawn by horses.

He is accustomed to name his religion, to those that ask, "Sarvésvara Matham," the religion of the Lord of All, and offends the Hindu less than he who swears by the "*true*" God. He has, like the Hindu, pompous festivals and celebrated places of pilgrimage which attract large crowds of Christians and not a few non-Christians. He observes caste; and when the last census schedules did not solicit the mention of caste for Christians, he felt it an affront and did not rest till he got the authorities to permit him to furnish that information also. In this his European Gurus seconded him. He dines with his Hindu castemen, and his Swamuluvaru when he happens to be a native is known to enjoy the hospitality of his Hindu caste-fellows no less than his Christian disciples. He is even permitted to marry a girl from a Hindu family and this concession puts one in mind of a similar concession made by the Saiva Sect of Niyogi Brahmins to the rest.

His names where they are foreign have attained a remarkable assimilation to those in vogue among Hindus, whereas such names sit loose on Protestant converts and are often coupled with a second Hindu name for ordinary use. Xavier has been worn away into Souraya; David into Devayya; Papayya stands for Pope, Innayya for Ignatius, Jogappa for Joseph, Yagappa for James, Agastayya for Augustine; here the Christian names are .not the very same as the Hindu ones. In Innayya and those that follow, the foreign words have been naturalised and are governed in their form and terminations and manner of employment by the genius of the language into which they have been received.

Like other names of males in the Telugu language the above foreign names of males are freely employed for women also, by the simple change of the suffix "Ayya" into "Anna" thus you hear of Souranna, Rosanna, Innanna, Joganna and Jananna.

This remarkable likeness to, and more often identity with,

Hindu names is reached in yet another way. It need not be observed that there is no conscious effort in all this any more than there is in the process of natural selection. Kondayya is a common Telugu name and is no less so among Roman Catholics. To the Hindu, *konda* or the mountain is the home of gods and therefore a suitable name. It may also be the shorter form of Kondalrayudu, the lord of the mountain or god of Tirupati. To the Catholic Christian, it is the name of the disciple of Christ to whom the keys of the Church were handed. It is also the meaning of the Hebrew word Simon.[1]

It is negative evidence of the truth of the above contention that neither of the names Peter and Simon is in favour with the Roman Catholics in the original form.

Rayanna and Rayappa both derived from a Telugu word meaning stone are said to be the translations of the word Peter and are favourite names among Roman Catholics.

Of this interesting name, another derivation is proposed and it is very plausible. "Raya" the well known title of the kings of Vijayanagar means "King" and will yield the names Rayanna and Rayappa. Against this, it has to be noticed that the names are confined at the present day to Roman Catholic Christians alone. There are indeed not wanting instances of the names among Hindus as in Roya Rao, a Brahmin general of the 16th century and among some of the Hindu inhabitants of the Canarese districts of the present day.

Among the felicitous translations of foreign names in use among them may be mentioned Santayya for St. Clement, Amritayya for St. Ambrose, Rajayya for St. Basil, Arograyya for Roche, Prakasam for Lewis, Asirvadam for Benedict, Jayama for Victor. The first three are well-known names among Hindus and all are good Telugu words familiar in the mouths of the people.

In yet other cases, not the mere names of saints but some one of their attributes or epithets has been translated and used instead of the name itself. Arulayya (Tamil for grace) does duty for St. John, the special recipient of God's grace; Kiritayya owes its origin to the crown of St. Stephen. It is also one of the names of

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[1] This is an error. The article contains other statements which more exact knowledge would state differently, but we have thought it well to leave it unaltered, as its interest lies partly in its representing the view of a community taken by an outsider.—EDITOR.

Arjuna. Chinnayya (vernacular for junior) a common Hindu name represents the last of the apostles of Christ, St. Paul.

This partiality for vernacular names, characteristic of the Catholics, is in keeping with their distinctive achievement and interest in vernacular literature. The reader will remember the works in Tamil of Veerama Muniver (Father Beschi) and Vedanta the Rasayanam, an account in verse of Christian Religion produced, if not by, at the instance of, Telugu Christians.

This measure, though small, may still have its share in making it easy to the Christian citizen of India to realize that he is an Indian first and a Christian afterwards.

A. SRINIVASAN, B.A., B.L.

THE THIRD TAMIL SANGAM.

IN a learned article on the age of Manikka Vaçagar in the April number of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" Mr. L. C. Innes arrives at the conclusion that, if the Sangam existed at all, it must have come into existence about 1100 A.D., "just prior to or co-incident with the line of Kambar," the author of the Tamil Ramayanam. The "Epic of the Anklet" or Silappadikaram, an admittedly Sangam work, was written by Ilangovadigal, a younger brother of Senguttuvan Sera, at whose court resided also another Sangam Poet Sithalai Sattanar, otherwise Kulavanihan Sattan, the author of the companion work "The Jewel Belt" or Manimekalai. Tiruvalluvar's Kural again is quoted by these two authors and acknowledged to be a Sangam work also. There is another group of Sangam Poets, the authors of the "Ten Poems" or the Pattuppattu, of which two by Rudiranganniar celebrate respectively Chola Karikala and Tondaiman Ilandiraiyan. From the Silappadikaram we learn that the Chola King at the time of its composition was Karikala, with his capital at Puhar, Kiri or Uriyur being also an important city; the Pandya King Nedumchariyan with his capital Madura and the Ceylon King Gajabahu. There were according to the same work two northern Kings at the Court of Senguttuvan, Kanaka and Vijaya. Of these personages the Mahavamso of Ceylon mentions two Gajabahus, one about 113 B.C. and the other about 1142 A.D. One of these two Kings is said to have invaded the Chola country in revenge for a past conquest or occupation of Ceylon by the Cholas. This conquest Mr. Innes thinks impossible for the Cholas, so long as the Pandyas

were powerful, for strategic and geographical reasons. He thinks it would have been imprudent on the part of the Cholas and, therefore, unlikely, that they should expose their flank undefended against their sworn enemies. The invasion of Ceylon by the Cholas could not have taken place before the reign of Kulothunga Chola I. who ascended the throne in 1070 A.D. and in whose reign the Pandyas were overthrown and even a part of the Pandya country colonized along the road to Kottaru near Cape Comorin, as else they would have had to pass through Pandya country. These two reasons cannot stand, as we know in fact that Ceylon was invaded many times before the time of Kulothunga, whose father-in-law Rajendra's inscriptions are found in the country. Rajendra Chola who ruled from 1001—1032 A.D. captured after a sea-fight Keduram and other places in the Ramnad Zemindari, and even his father Rajaraja (984—1016 A.D.) had a fleet with which he defeated the Seras at Kándulur. An invasion of Ceylon would be a novel invasion and the Pandyas would always be in the flank. The Cholas were engaged in wars in the distant Kalingam, on the banks of the Tungabhadra and even on the Malabar Coast, before the Pandyas were subjugated by Kulothunga I. So there is no difficulty in the way of our accepting the account of the Mahavamso of the occupation of Ceylon in the first century B.C. or so. If the chronicle cannot be relied on for the period earlier than the middle of the fifth century A.D. it may be sound to infer that the earlier Gajabahu's date may be somewhat later than it actually is stated to be and that the Tamil occupation of Ceylon might have taken place later than the first century B.C., say about the first century A.D. It thus appears quite possible that the first Gajabahu might as well have invaded the Chola country as the second. About the year 1142 A.D. the Chola ruler must have been Rajaraja II. and from the published inscriptions of him and of his predecessor nothing can be traced as to an invasion of the Chola country by the Ceylonese. Rajaraja II.'s successor Kulothunga III. claims to have conquered the Ceylonese, Madura &c., but Kulothunga III. ruled from 1178 A.D. to probably 1216 A.D.

The next personage of importance who figures in the Silappadikaram is a Karikala Chola. Mr. Innes is of opinion that this need not be the earliest Chola of the name that we know of. Very truly so. Whether we have to take him to be the earliest or the latest must be settled on good grounds. So far as we know the history of

the Cholas, we know four Cholas of this name. The first is Karikala of the poems Silappadikaram, Pattinappalai and Porunararuppadui; the next in chronological order is Aditya II, Karikala the elder brother of Rajaraja the great (984—1016 A. D.,); the third is not a Chola sovereign but only a Viceroy and younger brother of Rajendra who is the father-in law of Kulothunga I.; and lastly Kulothunga I. himself. Karikala, the contemporary of Senguttuvan, of the Sangam fame, must be one of these four. Mr. Innes takes him to be the last, as I make out from the article. The Srivaishnava saint Ramanuja at Srirangam gave offence to a Saiva ruler Karikala and in consequence had to flee the country. He went into the Mysore country and converted the Jain King Bith Deva *alias* Vishnuvardhana of Dwarasamudra to the Vaishnava faith. Subsequent to this, he founded the temple at Melukote, which event is placed by the Guruparamparai at Saka 1021 or 1099 A. D. In this work it is not stated that the Karikala is the Chola sovereign himself and Ramanuja is stated to have stayed a number of years at Saligrama in Mysore before meeting Vishnuvardhana. It would stand more to reason to identify his enemy Karikala with the younger brother of Rajendra, as he is definitely stated to be the Viceroy of Kiri or Uriyur. But it matters little to our present purpose even if he be Kulothunga I. himself, but it is unlikely, as the latter's capital was either Gangaikunda Cholapuram or Kanchi. Again the same Guruparamparai makes mention of a Tondaiman Chakravarti, who could be no other than Karunakara Tondaiman, the general of Kulothunga I. and the real hero of Jayankoondan's Kalingattupparani. These two were undoubtedly contemporaneous with Ramanuja. Mr. Innes would identify these worthies with the heroes of Rudirangannanar's Pattinappalai and Permabanarruppadai. This cannot possibly be. Jayankondan above mentioned is professedly a contemporary of Kulothunga Chola I. and celebrates in his poem, the Kalingattupparani, the conquest of Kalingam by Karunakara Tondaiman of Vandai (Vandalur) for his master Kulothunga I. In the canto of the poem dealing with the royal genealogy he states explicitly that the two poems in praise of Karikala were sung in praise of the earliest of the name. The Perumbanarruppadai of Rudirangannanar celebrates a Tondaiman indeed; but a Tondaiman Ilandirayan, the son of the ancient Chola King Kokilli by the Waga Princess of Negapatam, as expressly stated in the poem itself. In the face of this, it is a feat

of boldness to identify the two groups of personages. This is not all. Karikala of these poems is closely associated with Puhar or Kaurippumbattinam as his capital with a possible alternative of Kiri or Uriyur or Urandai. But in all the published inscriptions of the later Cholas I have not come across any reference to Puhar at all.

The Pandya king at the time of the events narrated in the Silappadikaram is Neduncheryan who was succeeded by Ilancheryan, the viceroy, probably, of Korkai, another Pandya capital. At about 1175 A. D. we come upon a line of Pandya rulers with the alternating titles of Kulasekhara and Sundara. With the rise of these rulers the Pandyas also rise into prominence, but till then the Pandyas were in no condition for an "academy" at Madura. Ever since the days of Rajaraja I the Pandya country had been so much harassed by the Cholas that they had to maintain a perpetual struggle. This culminated in the complete subjugation of the country by Kulothunga, who marched through the Pandya country and planted colonies in agricultural parts along the road to Kottaru in the Travancore country near Cape Comorin. This would hardly be the time for the Sangam which admittedly flourished in the Pandya country.

The Sangam, therefore, ought to have existed at a time when the Chola country was ruled by Karikala and his successor Perunarkilli at Puhar and Uriyur; when the Pandya country was ruled by Neduncheryan of Mudura Kanji and Nedunalwadai fame at Madura and Korkai; when Senguttuvan Sera was ruling at Vanji; when Gajabahu was ruling in Ceylon. As far as is known at present the earlier Gajabahu's time would answer better than the reign of Gajabahu II. If it could be proved beyond doubt that the alphabet was not known in South India before the Third Century A. D. we may have to bring Gajabahu I. up to within living memory of the time of the author of the Mahavamso written about the middle of the Fifth Century A. D.

Kambar might not have lived so early as even 886 A. D. It is clear from this reference to Ramanuja that he must have followed the latter. The popular account which would bring together Kambar, Ottakkuthar, Pugarendi, &c., and place them in the court of Kulothunga may be correct in so far as these authors are concerned; but none of these had anything to do with the Sangam. Kambar, we are told, went from place to place to gain the approval of the learned for his Ramayanam, but he is not said,

like Tiruvalluvar, to have gone to the Sangam, whose imprimatur would at once have stamped his work with authority. Kambar therefore could not have been a contemporary of the Sangam and there is nothing against his having been to the Sangam, "proximus sed longo intervallo," (next but at a long interval).

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

JAMES MONTGOMERY.

THE reason of this article is as follows:—An old student of the Christian College, who keeps up his reading, was studying certain poems of James Montgomery and asked me for some brief particulars of the poet's life. It was a life of strange contrasts. Stormy and bitter at the opening, beautifully calm and reposeful at the close. If this paper shall draw attention to this now neglected name, and induce other Indian students to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the truth about which he wrote and sung, the writer's object will have been attained. There should be a market for a well selected edition of Montgomery's poems.

On a dark Sunday evening, in April 1792, a slenderly-built youth entered Sheffield by way of the Lady's Bridge, walked up Waingate, crossed the market place and finally reached a large shop in Hart's Head. The youth was James Montgomery and fifty-two years after—speaking of the incident—he doubted if a more solitary being than himself could be found in the town at that time. His career hitherto had been stormy and indicated a future that might be stormier still—for a few years the indication was true enough and became actual fact. A gentle Moravian lad, who had been cloistered in the seclusion of Fulneck School, and who longing to escape into the larger world outside had escaped, but for ever regretted it—the picture is pathetic in its simplicity and yet there are elements in it that provoke a smile. Afterwards Montgomery was living at Wath where seeing in the Sheffield Register 'Wanted in a counting-house, in Sheffield, a clerk,' he at once applied to Mr. Gales, printer, book-seller and auctioneer, for the post. Mr. Gales and his wife were amused at the application, for Montgomery anxious to show his patriotism wrote in large flourishing characters **'God Save the King,'** on reading which Mrs. Gales laughed heartily and Mr. Gales sent for the youth and

engaged him on trial. In Sheffield and around it the people professed to be very loyal, but there were still in the town some who leaned to the old way, and political divisions existed under the names of Tories and Jacobins. Not very many years before the Rector of Eckington—supposed to be the original of a vigorous caricature representing a burly clergyman lying on the ground with his hands on two churches, his feet on two more, and his mouth agape at a fifth—this swollen pluralist thought proper to preach a loyal sermon on the words 'The wicked flee when no man pursueth: but the righteous are bold as a lion.' In the middle of the sermon a rumour was brought into the church that the Pretender was close at hand. Parson and people afforded a prompt illustration of the first part of the text by incontinently running from the church as fast as they could. Mr. Gales was a native of Eckington and held kings cheap; his amusement at Montgomery's effusive loyalty must have been extreme. In the quaint, bow-windowed shop at the top of Hart's Head Montgomery found a true home. They were unfeignedly kind to the shy, awkward, lonely youth and soon made him literally one of the family. Mrs. Gales was a woman of considerable literary skill, had written a novel, helped her husband in his advocacy, 'in plain and fearless terms,' of equal rights and parliamentary reform, and was the writer of the Notes, or many of them, in a Folio Edition of the Bible published by Mr. Gales. The conversations and kindness of this lady helped to form Montgomery's character at this period. The Gales went to the Unitarian Chapel in Norfolk Street, a lapsed Presbyterian church, which had been famous under Timothy Jollie. His successors Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Evans used 'phrases which were relics of orthodoxy, though meaning nothing or next to nothing as used by them.' Montgomery went occasionally to this chapel with his friends, but on Sunday evenings he went to the Independent or Methodist chapels where vigorous evangelical preaching marked the services. Strange to say there was only one member of the Moravian community anywhere near the town, a lady at Brightside, and Montgomery, ecclesiastically, could not dwell among his own people.

At this time however he was not attracted by the sweet compelling love of Christ. He was a wanderer from the fold, but had strayed into no open and notorious sin. Beyond indifference to the claims of Christ nothing could be brought against him. His

poetic genius now began once more to blossom. At Fulneck and in London he had indulged in the furtive pleasures of rhyme, and the Brethren's hymn-book in the former place had influenced him more than the reading of Blair's *Grave* which is said to have first stirred in him the desire to sing. There is we think clear indication in Montgomery's best and most enduring work that he owed his lofty vision and intense glowing love to this despised book. He would never let his friends see the book. Everett and Holland were Wesleyans of the best type, but Montgomery would not let them see his copy of the old book, his reason being 'other parties did not understand it.' A copy of the Book is before me as I write and has the signature in it of W. T. Ringeltaube, the saintly pioneer of the Travancore Mission. The title is 'A collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all Ages, From the Beginning till Now.' It contains about 1,200 hymns which Doddridge described as 'the product of the most wild enthusiasts upon the Earth.' It is ludicrously irreverent, the majority of the hymns are bald translations from the German and express religiously erotic ideas in the wildest language. Here is a verse:

> 'No, if I needs must jealous be,
> Lord, I'll suspect myself not Thee.
> Lov'st thou my Lord, Soul ? Yea or Nay ?
> My God. I'm gravelled what to say.

It is only fair to say that this specimen is one of the worst. On the other hand there are some noble hymns in it—notably Bishop Gambold's 'O tell me no more of this world's vain store. The time for such trifles with me now is o'er.' Montgomery must have been helped by the stirring words of this great hymn of renunciation written when Gambold resigned his living to become a Moravian, "No Mortal doth know what He can bestow, what light, strength and comfort. Go after Him, Go." One can see how this book helped John and Charles Wesley in some of their sweetest songs.

Alas for poetry when the poet has to earn his daily bread. So say some, but Montgomery lived to thank God for drudgery. Gales employed the young man in his auctioneering business first, but after a time Montgomery found his proper niche as editor of the paper. Gales had had to fly the country for political reasons and it was to conduct a paper already suspected of grave political heresies that Montgomery was pledged. This serious purpose did not prevent his indulging in lighter vein, and he wrote fugitive

pieces after the manner of Peter Pindar. The latter gave him room for repentance in his later years, but as things went then they were mild and innocent enough. The remembrance of these escapades however wrung from him the confession "he had been one of the greatest fools that ever obtruded himself on the public notice." This confession must not be taken literally. He tried to call in one of his early skits and must have spent much money in so doing, for a rascally printer surreptitiously kept up the supply of copies. It would have been a mercy to Montgomery if he had been physically and mentally of tougher fibre. Morally he was heroic enough for anything, as he proved in 1794 when for printing "A Ballad in Commemoration of the Fall of the Bastille" the Justices at the Doncaster Quarter Sessions sentenced him to three months' imprisonment in the Castle at York, and to pay a fine of twenty pounds. This was Justices' justice with a vengeance, and there were two clergymen on the bench. Montgomery was charged with 'several false, scandalous, malicious, and seditious libels' and these were found in the following lines:

'Europe's fate on the contest's decision depends;
Most important its issues will be,
For should France be subdued, Europe's liberty ends,
If she triumphs the world will be free."

Later on came another charge of libel and a further term of imprisonment for six months and a fine of thirty pounds. Here again the libel is the mildest of comments upon the precipitate action of a military officer who in a disturbance on account of arrears of bounty money which had not been paid up, attacked the inoffensive people who were merely lookers on, shot two of them and wounded many others. Joe Mathers, a local poetaster, said of the miserable business

'The consequence was deep distress,
More widows, and more fatherless;
The Devil blushed, and did confess
'Twas more than he required."

Mathers further called the Colonel 'Beef-Headed Bob' and satirised the men under his command as 'Ruddle-Necked Tups', but his verse and comments were left unnoticed while Montgomery for an act of the simplest righteousness was abominably punished.

This persecution brought him friends. Foremost among them was one near his own age, John Pye Smith, who wrote to Montgomery in prison "Your sentence is an eulogy, your prison is a palace." Pye Smith edited the paper in the proper editor's ab-

sence, conduct which got him in turn into trouble; and the story indicates the suspicion that Montgomery had to suffer from on his release. Old Rotherham College, blessed be its memory, had been opened one year when the church at Queen St., Sheffield, sent John Pye Smith to it as a student. But the young Radical's fame had preceded him and the Committee of the said College suspended him from the public benefits of the institution until the summer vacation of 1797. His offence was 'imprudent conduct' on which the Committee could not but express its censure, which the imprudent conduct was sympathy with Montgomery and the temporary editorship of the paper. It is a grave reflection on the prescience of this Committee that Pye Smith became the most brilliant alumnus of the College and for forty years Montgomery was its honoured chairman.

Sojourn in prison produced prison amusements, but the work is essentially that of a prentice hand. The verses however are facile and though written in prison have none of its gloom. They are elegant trifles. The fragment entitled 'The Brahmin' has beautiful lines in it, such as

> 'Sweet modest flowers, that blush along the vale,
> Whose fragrant lips embalm the passing gale;

but anything more unlike a Brahmin than Montgomery's hero I never met. The Brahmin talks as if his sole mental pabulum had been Paley's Natural Theology mixed with an extra dose of Transmigration; and the absurdity of it is monstrous. In attempting a *reductio ad absurdum* he says or rather makes the Brahmin say

> 'When to the stake the generous bull you lead,
> Tremble—ah! tremble—lest your father bleed.'

A bull at a stake is a conception as impossible to a Brahmin, as a country where the sun at mid-day threw no shadow used to be to the untravelled Englishman. Then bathos could surely not reach a more ridiculous height than in the couplet—

> 'Rash, impious youth! renounce that horrid knife;
> Spare the sweet antelope!—ah, spare—thy wife.'

Be it remembered the youth's father is a bull and his wife an antelope. The 'Brahmin' has yet to live who would be guilty of such a 'derangement of epitaphs.'

'The Wanderer of Switzerland' is simple and beautiful, marred a little by exaggerated statement and pleonasm.

> 'Gallia's tigers, wild for blood,
> Darted on our sleeping fold;
> Down the mountains, o'er the flood,
> Dark as thunder-clouds they rolled.'

It is pleasant to know that the little poem brought profit and fame to the writer. Eight hundred pounds came into the poet's pocket from it and it was richly deserved. Through the verses there breathes the ardent desire for Liberty—Liberty writ large,—the only question is whether the mercenary Swiss were ever worthy such impassioned lines. The poet had invested them with his own desires and hopes. Of course he came in for the inevitable 'slating' from the *Edinburgh Review*. "We took compassion upon Mr. Montgomery, on his first appearance, conceiving him to be some slender youth of seventeen, intoxicated with weak tea and the praises of sentimental virgins and other provincial literati, and tempted, in that situation, to commit a feeble outrage on the public of which the recollection would be a sufficient punishment." So the review marches on dealing damnation to the poem in most heroic style. It was written by Jeffrey and is as insolent as it is unjust and as cowardly as anonymity could make it. Montgomery was a man and had proved his manhood in ways Jeffrey never attempted.

It is not the purpose of this paper to give a bibliography of Montgomery, or attempt a critical estimate of his work. His poems have the defect of the time in which he wrote, the time of rhetorical preachers who would make minnows talk like whales. Their rotund laboured periods rolled out like midsummer thunder and did as little harm. One of Montgomery's particular friends, a preacher, is remembered in Sheffield because of the way he used to open the services at chapel—one of his favourite modes of invocation being "O, Thou that dwellest in incomprehensible infinitude." They talked big and it was a vicious fashion no one apparently could escape, least of all Montgomery's biographers who Boswellised him; but they were not Boswell. His LIFE is a huge pyramid of a biography, but to any who will read it there are here and there exquisite oases in the desert round the pyramid, and inside it are perfectly embalmed specimens of the poet's wisdom. But the dust in the passsage chokes you and you feel that literally Montgomery has been mummified through seven volumes, where he ought to have been living in one. He might have prayed 'Save me from my friends.' Local impressions of him were not of the best. In the shop he was curt, but his integrity and simplicity of heart commanded respect, and people more or less felt he had the right to be irritable. Yet on the other hand he himself constantly brought his conscience to book for small lapses into temper. It

was a fine conscience as delicately poised to the right and wrong of things as a chemist's scale that will measure the thousandth part of a grain. Spiritually he had no second skin and would bleed profusely where men with the double integument would feel no prick.

The people at Fulneck gave him a good education; he knew what he knew and never pretended to the encyclopædic knowledge that certain writers claim now-a-days. It is a pity their juvenile omniscience cannot be put out to grass, and they themselves be compelled to browse upon the wholesome nutriment of common things. And this brings me to the point I have tried to reach, *viz.*, we might come back to a simpler, manlier diet if we were obliged to take a course of Montgomery, a mild course, for, as things are, the 'West Indies,' 'The World before the Flood,' 'Pelican Island' are poems much like a country museum I once saw, an omnium gatherum of startling objects which made wondering rustics stare and gasp, and left an impression on the mind of things beautiful and horrible, and sent you to bed with an obsession of the latter. 'Greenland' has not these defects so prominently. A careful selection might choose some lovely gems out of Montgomery and give us in their entirety 'A Voyage round the World' with its stately music, 'The Common Lot' with its tender, heart moving pathos, 'The Grave,' which contains the 'quintessentialised' experiences of every life.

'There is a calm for those who weep,
A rest for weary pilgrims found,
They softly lie and sweetly sleep
Low in the ground.'

'The Stranger and His Friend' has noble numbers in it and would teach true wisdom to young India:

'Once, when my scanty meal was spread,
He entered,—not a word he spake:—
Just perishing for lack of bread;
I gave him all; he bless'd it, brake;
And ate,—but gave me part again;
Mine was an angel's portion then,
For while I fed with eager haste,
That crust was Manna to my taste.

Certain inspiring hymns should have their place and there is a perfect treasure trove of true melodic songs like 'The Bird that Soars on Highest Wing,' 'The Aspirations of Youth,' 'Home,' 'The Aurora Borealis,' 'Religion,' and many others that would

do much to enrich the youth of the present day if only they could be induced to read these verses which are beautiful with the homeliness of an earlier and simpler time.

Montgomery deserves to be held in grateful memory, because he was the first and only one of the greater poets who all his life long had the keenest sympathy with Missionary work. Himself the son of a Moravian Missionary, and early left an orphan, he had insight, fellow-feeling and all the knowledge necessary to a true understanding of the Missionary's lot in those far off days. Montgomery was not ashamed to own them as brethren, and the humblest name among them never moved him to a sneer.

Carey's English Daisy, the seed of which, all unknown, had come out in a parcel of plants sent to the doctor, by a botanist from Sheffield, suggests some charming lines:

> Thrice welcome little English flower!
> My Mother country's white and red,
> In rose or lily, till this hour,
> Never to me such beauty spread;

His lines to Bennett, to departing Missionaries, his services to the Moravian, the London and Wesleyan Missionary societies shew that his interest was never allowed to flag and that to the last day of his life he set the Lord always before him and only longed to do his Master's will.

W. Robinson.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

Overshadowing all events of the month has been the postponement of the King's Coronation. Here little need be said of it beyond the record of the fact that India has been constant to her best traditions. Disappointment was inevitable, but of impatience at the derangement of plans and preparations none has been seen; and every other feeling seems to have been lost in anxiety for and sympathy with the King and his family. The declaration of peace which a little earlier stirred the rest of the Empire left India untouched, but the King's illness moved her population from the highest to the lowest.

We have been greatly interested in reading the Pope's *Apostolic Letter* which has appeared in some of our Roman Catholic contemporaries during the month. Written by the head of a great Christian Church in acknowledgment of God's preserving care through an unusually long pontificate and in recognition of the responsibility of living for the good of the Church which that care involves, the letter contains

much that is beautiful, wise and truly Christian. It is Romanism at its very best, and granted the existence of Romanism one can only rejoice that at its head should be one who could write this letter. But it is Romanism still. The Church, 'the immaculate spouse of Christ,' is given a place and authority which others cannot conscientiously allow to it; and for the Papacy is claimed a sovereign position temporal and ecclesiastical which in the opinion of mankind generally cannot be conceded. 'In the Catholic Church Christianity is incarnate,' it is claimed, and other Churches seem to be referred to only as 'unbelievers,' 'sects which disturb the peace of society,' 'children of darkness.' The Letter is a review of the present condition of society. The world has always opposed the Church, as it persecuted Christ. The Roman Empire, the barbarians from the North, the Moslems from the South, the mediaeval Empire, 'the pretended Reformation,' the 'mocking Philosophism of the eighteenth century' form a list of the enemies of the Church which is continued to-day in 'a frightful scepticism,' which does not as the earlier foes mostly did combat some only of the principles of the Church but the whole. Thus destroying the bonds which unite man to God, it is undermining the foundations of society. The family is being ruined through marriage being stripped of its religious character and brought under the hand of the State, and through 'the licentious institution of divorce.' Political and social order is endangered by doctrines which derive sovereign authority from the consent of the people and not from God. International order is disturbed by the jealous egoism of the nations which has resulted from 'the repudiation of those Christian principles which had contributed so efficaciously to unite the nations in the bonds of brotherhood.' Popular agitations and disorders already are frequent but they are only the preludes of much more terrible disorders in the future. The logical issue of this antagonism to Romanism is declared to be seen in the anarchists, whom the Pope denounces.

In view of these perils what remedy can be found? To Liberty, the development of public instruction, the progress of science men have looked but looked in vain. This lost society must re-enter the pale of the Church, if it wishes to recover its well-being, its repose and its salvation. In an eloquent passage the Pope sets forth the Church as the healer of all the ills of society and describes his own exertions in its cause.

The more the Catholic Church strives to advance the peoples, the more, complains the Pope, its enemies assail it. The charges against it that it is the enemy of knowledge and instruction, of liberty, and of the rights of the State he endeavours to meet, though his arguments are not likely to convince those who are not convinced already. As the

ring-leaders in the attacks upon the Church he singles out the Society of Freemasons, attributing to their machinations the recent troubles of the Church, the popular criticism of the clergy, and the legislation against the religious orders. No wonder that the children are struck when the father himself, the Roman Pontiff, is stripped of his temporal sovereignty.

'Blows struck at religion are blows struck at society, but let there be no despair. God in His own hour and in his mysterious ways, will bring about a certain victory.' Of this there is a pledge in the internal tranquillity of the church and in the success of Catholic Missions. Let all strive together for this victory. 'Our age exacts lofty ideals, generous designs, and the exact observance of the laws. It is by a perfect submission to the directions of the Holy See that this discipline will be strengthened.' 'For her final triumph the church depends upon Him who watches with wisdom and love over His immaculate spouse, and of whom it is written "**Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.**"

Such a letter shows what a blessing to the Roman Church itself was 'the pretended Reformation,' which the Pope here denounces but to which the most learned Catholic of our age, Lord Acton,—whose death has just deprived Cambridge of her Regius Professor of History—ascribed the revival of all that was good and strong in the modern world. Its zeal for right, its piety, its evangelical faith contrast strongly with the spirit of the old Papacy that Protestantism has made impossible. But the exclusiveness, the demand for submission to the Papal See, the distrust of the people, the rivalry with the state, the claim to temporal sovereignty, the dislike of science, the resistance to progress remain.

Sixty years carries us back a long way in the history of journalism in this country. There cannot be more than three or four periodicals in the whole of India that can trace their career back so far. Few were in existence sixty years ago and some of these have been long dead. To establish a paper then showed enterprise and public spirit in the founders; to maintain it through sixty years displays equal perseverance and ability. The *Dnyanodaya* which with its June issue reached its Diamond Jubilee has been a centre of illumination and good influence in the Marathi country. Primarily an Indian Christian paper it has done much for that community, but it has commanded attention and guided opinion far beyond its limits. We congratulate it upon its past and wish it long-continued usefulness in the future.

If old-established journals in India are few, new ones are many. Scarcely a month passes but some are sent to us for notice. Three lie before us at present:—The "Malabar Quarterly Review," the "Review

of Religions," the "Native States"—a characteristic trio. Each makes its appeal to a force in Indian life; it will be interesting to see whether the force is strong enough to sustain it. Malabar has national individuality and may furnish topics of interest for many a year, even apart from outside help such as Professor Sundararaman renders in the current number. The "Review of Religions" is published in the interests of Islam. The issue before us is given up entirely to a discussion of Sinlessness in various aspects and is marked by the boldness with which Christians are challenged on points which will perhaps seem to them strangely selected. It may be novel to them but none the less suggestive to have Muhammad magnified as an intercessor and the intercession of Jesus denied, and to be told that while as a result of Muhammad's intercession 'God speaks to his followers and reveals His Holy Word to them,' the Christians 'call us to a God who neither speaks nor sees, nor has he the power to inform us of future events. But our God has power for all these things.' Christians have taken it for granted that Christianity was above challenge as regards spiritual experience. It should be a call to them to prove in their lives that this is so when a Muslim can write 'Our opponents are utterly devoid of the blessings which are poured upon us in full abundance through (Muhammad's) gracious intercession.' The issues of *The Native States* which we have seen correspond to the conception which most people will derive from the title. The existence of Native States within the circle of the British Raj raises from time to time problems on which it is well that their views should be made public. But they have ample means of effecting this when occasion demands. It is yet to be shown that a weekly organ is necessary; and a rather better guarantee of authority is required than publication in Triplicane. Still, in this Presidency at any rate, the importance of the Native States in the Indian system is not sufficiently realised, and this paper may do something to remind us of it.

Arrangements are now being completed for the visit of the next Barrows Lecturer to India. Though Mrs. Haskell's foundation of the Barrows Lectures in connexion with the Chicago University is certainly a most remarkable development of the idea of a Teaching University, we in India have every reason to rejoice in a provision which brings to us every two or three years prominent men of the stamp of those who have already been appointed. Dr. Cuthbert Hall, the new Lecturer, is not so well-known to us by name as the Parliament of Religions had made Dr. Barrows; nor has he the reputation of Dr. Fairbairn as a philosopher. But if he is of a different type from either of these, he is no less representative of the forces which make for a strong and intelli-

gent righteousness in the West. Gifted with eloquence and a winning personality, few men in America, we understand, have greater influence for good upon young men. His course of lectures will deal with some of the great truths which Christianity sets in the forefront of its message to the world, and their practical bearing upon experience and life. Thoughtful India is more and more asking for the practical; it is seeking something that will meet its needs of conscience and heart; and Dr. Hall's message will be opportune. He reaches Colombo towards the end of October and leaves India about the end of February. Probably his visit to Madras will be in the end of January, but this is not yet finally settled.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

The Times History of the War in South Africa, 1899—1902. Edited by L. S. Amery, Vol. II. London : Sampson Low, Marston and Company, Ltd. : 1902.

The Second Volume of the Times' History of the War in South Africa, is interesting, but by no means pleasant reading. The first volume dealt with events up to the Boer ultimatum, and the second gets no further than the battle of Colenso and the collapse of the first British attack. The story is a continuous record of incapacity and disaster, and there are but few departments or individuals—British or Boer—who emerge from it with unblemished reputations. But the faults committed are due to over-confidence and ignorance and to a failure to grasp the changed conditions of modern warfare. These defects which occurred on both sides are to be found amongst the generals selected to lead forth armies; and the one relieving feature, amongst the British as well as the Boers, is the gallantry of the rank and file, their uncomplaining devotion and self-sacrifice and their readiness to endure every hardship and danger on behalf of their respective countries.

After two very interesting and impartially written chapters on the British and Boer Military Systems, in which the shortcomings of the former are held up to view with unsparing hand, a separate chapter is devoted to each of the leading incidents of these three dark months. Perhaps one of the faults most strongly condemned on our side is the absence of a highly trained scientific staff which forms such a prominent feature in the German system and the absence of any settled or defined programme. War being once resolved upon, men in whose hands the lives of thousands and the honour of the Empire would lie, were gathered together at haphazard and owed their appointments not so much to merit as to favouritism or seniority. As regards this we will quote some of the authors' remarks which appear to us to be well founded.

"There must always be failures when an army, which has long enjoyed immunity from serious conflict, is suddenly brought to the test of a great war, and it must also be remembered that the new conditions our generals were called upon to face in South Africa made that test of the very severest, still, it is certain that the proportion of failures would have been much less had there been any proper system by which capable officers could have been selected and trained for high command. The failures of the generals were in many cases the failures of their staffs. The British Army did not lack officers possessing both the mental qualities and the scientific knowledge necessary for staff work. But there was no efficient system of selecting them, and no opportunity of training them to co-operate with each other or with the generals under whom they were to serve. That perfect combination which is so essential in a staff can only be attained by working together in peace. Englishmen, who would not dream of sending a crew to Henley Regatta whose members had never rowed together before, were quite content that a general's staff should be hastily improvised at the last moment from officers scraped together from every corner. But if the war showed that staff officers were often inexperienced, unacquainted with their duties or with each others' idiosyncrasies, it was still more frequently the case that the old generals had no conception of how to make use of their staffs. Having had no peace training in generalship, they no more knew how to direct the ability placed at their disposal than the Captain of some old three-decker would have known how to handle a modern battle-ship in action."

We appear to have accepted literally Sir H. Campbell Bannerman's extraordinary *dictum* "that it was better to have no defined war policy and to 'muddle through' such wars as might happen." The only departments to which praise is due, and this the author unstintedly gives, are the Naval, the Transport (Sea and Land) and the Commissariat departments. As regards our unpreparedness at the time of the Boer invasion of Natal, though it may be blameable from a military point of view, we are of opinion that it would have been far worse had the preliminary negotiations been carried on after the landing in South Africa of an army corps. Any settlement arrived at under such pressure could not have been regarded as satisfactory. The Boers and their friends in England and on the Continent would have denounced such an arrangement as one made under compulsion, and the whole question would have been revived at some future date. Subsequent events have shown that the Boers were determined to fight, not only for their own independence, but for their supremacy over the whole of South Africa, and it is just as well that the matter has been fought out once for all. Paul Krüger and the Boers generally appear to have thought that their first successes, which considering their superiority in numbers were by no means so brilliant as they might have been, were a proof that the God of battles was on their side and that their cause was a just one. But people are apt to construe God's intentions according to their own wishes, and it is equally reasonable to say that our first failures were God's method of teaching us the real greatness of our Empire, of warning us against over-confidence and presumption, "Lest," in the words of Rudyard Kipling's *Recessional*,—"Lest we forget."

The volume before us contains but few incidents upon which we can dwell with pleasure or with pride. The so-called victory at Talana Hill dwindles down into a temporary success which was only saved from being a terrible disaster by the incapacity or ignorance of our opponents. Elandslaagte is the only piece of brilliant work and was due to the genius of a man, who was then comparatively unknown, but who has since come to the front rank as a leader of cavalry; the battle of Ladysmith was in reality a crushing defeat, and the series of the day's blunders culminated in the disaster at Nicholson's Nek and the investment of the army which had so confidently hoped to repel the invasion and chase the Boers out of Natal. Belmont, Graspan and Modder River were sledge-hammer fights carried out with the expressed intention of Lord Methuen "to put the fear of God into these fellows." They were Pyrrhic victories won at an unnecessary cost of blood. Stormberg and Magersfontein were two unqualified disasters which however might have been retrieved if the generals commanding had possessed genius instead of a blind adherence to ancient and worn-out traditions, whilst the last chapter on the battle of Colenso is a record of blunders, of fool-hardiness and faint-heartedness, and of over-confidence ending in unnecessary despondency. Sir Redvers Buller comes in for the greatest share of blame, although others are by no means spared, and it almost seems as if the author had some personal spite against him, although this is expressly disclaimed in the preface. It is perhaps only due to an accident or a mistake, but it is certainly significant, that whereas in the portraits of the other notabilities they are represented in full uniform with their decorations and titles enumerated, Sir Redvers Buller is depicted in undress, standing against a dead wall with not a word below to indicate to whom the picture refers.

As regards the many "regrettable incidents" that occurred during the war, now happily concluded, the author makes some remarks when dealing with the first of them at Nicholson's Nek which are worthy of reproduction.

> The whole question of the ethics of surrender under the conditions of modern warfare is one of great difficulty. Napoleon in his Maxims will allow of no surrender except that of the individual who has been cut off and is unable to use his weapons. 'All generals, officers and soldiers who capitulate in battle should be decimated' is his stern verdict, and he gives a true reason for it when he remarks: "How many seeming impossibilities have been accomplished by men whose only resource was death." Such a rule can, perhaps, never be absolutely enforced, but it should be an army's pride to endeavour to keep it. In former times, before the rifle had been perfected, a force that was outnumbered could always by a last desperate bayonet charge save its honour and hope to inflict some loss on its enemy. In modern war there are situations where men without ammunition, and armed only with bayonets, are no better than men unarmed, or even where a force whose ammunition is

unspent is absolutely helpless in face of overwhelming rifle and artillery fire. But as long as there is any possibility, by continuing the fight at whatever cost of life, of inflicting injury on the enemy or even of only delaying his movements, there can be little doubt that the struggle should be continued. And however slight the purpose resistance may seem to serve at the time it has still its moral value as an example. No matter how justifiable a surrender may be, its example may have an influence in other cases where the justification does not exist. To this ideal standard neither the junior officers who raised the first signal of surrender, when they might possibly for a few minutes longer have kept back the Boers from pursuing (as they imagined) the retreating force, nor the commanding officer, who might at the cost of perhaps 200 more casualties have held out another half hour and thus given an example which might have averted many surrenders yet to come, can be held to have attained. But there is nothing in the circumstances attending the surrender at Nicholsons Nek which make it more humiliating than many other surrenders that occurred after it, while there have been many instances where the struggle was abandoned when there was much better hope of escape or relief."

These remarks are penned in a by no means prejudiced spirit and should furnish food for thought. Altogether the white flag question is one that requires very drastic treatment. Only the officer in command of the detachment or force should have the power to raise the white flag, and it should be distinctly laid down that any person doing so without authority will be at once shot by his comrades and a volley be fired as a repudiation of his action.

The book is, we need not say, of the very greatest interest. Written by a civilian it is scarcely likely that it will be accepted as final by military authorities, and scarcely sufficient time has elapsed for an absolutely impartial judgment to be passed on the various incidents. But it gives a connected and lucid narration of the different events and so throws a great deal of light on problems which puzzled us heretofore. From an Englishman's point of view it is a black record and a very humiliating one, but it is a consolation to think that in the ensuing volumes there will be a pleasanter story to tell from a national point of view. We may also expect that ample justice will be done to the misguided but gallant men who fought us so bravely and who we may now hope will become loyal subjects of the King and our comrades in the defence of our Empire.

Political Economy in Kannada (with an English introduction). By H. V. Nanjundayya, M.A., M.L., Fellow of the University of Madras.

Very few graduates of the Madras University have striven to make the knowledge they have acquired available for those who know the vernacular only. The task of transferring valuable scientific information from the English to an Eastern tongue is by no means easy. The Dravidian languages are not flexible, and uncouth words and involved sentences cannot always be avoided. Translations of scientific works

are as a rule failures. To put in an Eastern form sentence by sentence an English scientific treatise is to produce a work that will not be understood. The English-knowing reader may make out the meaning, if he is familiar with the English original; the vernacular reader can by himself get no intelligible idea from the strange words and novel combinations of what appears to him almost a new language. If scientific works are to be understood by vernacular readers, they must be written by men thoroughly familiar with the subject and at the same time masters of the vernacular in which they write. The book must be written for the Hindu mind unfamiliar with the ways of English thought.

Mr. Nanjundayya has wisely adopted this method in producing this book on Political Economy in Kannada. It is not a translation of any treatise, though many books have been laid under contribution. He has written a book which will not immediately have a large sale nor have a marked effect at once upon the ways of the Kannada people; but he has accomplished a task for which he deserves the thanks of all those who seek the general welfare of the masses of the people. We do not think he has in all cases made his meaning perfectly clear; there is a marked preference for older Kannada forms of words. We doubt whether the ordinary Kanarese student in the upper forms of a Lower Secondary school is in a position to profit by the study of the book; but students reading for the Upper Secondary Examination in Kannada might with great benefit be examined in its teaching.

The laws of Political Economy as laid down by European experts are clearly stated and illustrated by facts and incidents familiar to residents in India, so that the Indian reader may readily understand. The customs and practices that militate against efforts to increase the wealth of the country are plainly pointed out. The chapter on caste in its effect upon the character of the people and the prosperity of the country is well worth study. The author is fully awake to the condition of the people, does not hesitate to point out their weaknesses, and is anxious that industrial enterprises should flourish in the land. We do not quite agree with all the writer says in regard to the help that Government should give to new industries. The constituency that can profit by such a book is a small one; but if that fraction of the people would but learn and assimilate the lessons of the book, they would benefit greatly themselves and help to improve the general condition of the people.

The book is well printed and generally free from mistakes. We think the price, Rs. 2, will stand in the way of a large sale; though at that price the author will not anticipate any large addition to his fortune. It is very gratifying that amidst the duties and cares of active official life, Mr. Nanjundayya has found time to write a book that is calculated to be of permanent good to his countrymen.

The Epistles of the Captivity. Edited by G. Currie Martin, M.A., B.D. *The Century Bible.* T. C. and E. C. Jack, Edinburgh.

We confess to a feeling of disappointment with this volume of an otherwise excellent series. Probably our disappointment is in part due to the fact that we last read and reviewed Prof. Adeney's volume on Thessalonians and Galatians, the high standard of which it would be difficult to maintain throughout the series. Certainly the volume now under review suffers much by comparison with its immediate predecessor. The Century Bible aims at supplying us with "a very full commentary, embodying the latest scholarship in plain words." This is eminently true of Prof. Adeney's work. But it cannot be said that the volume before us supplies a 'very full commentary' on these sublime Epistles. For example the comments on the great Christological passages in Colossians I. 15 ff. and Phil. II. 5 ff. must be pronounced slight. The results of recent scholarship are embodied in this work, but frequently the Editor in choosing between alternative interpretations contents himself with saying "the latter interpretation seems preferable." This is not satisfactory. We want to know the reasons which led him to this conclusion. We should, however, say that the volume is thoroughly interesting and free from all 'padding.' But the student will supplement it by the standard commentaries on the Epistles of the Captivity. We wish that we were able to name a critical and expository commentary on Ephesians in the English language worthy to rank with Westcott's on S. John's Gospel and Epistles or Lightfoot's on Colossians. Dr. G. G. Findlay is eminently qualified by his Pauline scholarship and spiritual insight to give us that for which we wait. We wish he would crown his studies in S. Paul by giving us such a commentary. On page 116, read 'drift' for 'draft.'

Intermediate History of England. Price 1*s.* 6*d.* *Royal History of England.* Price 2*s.* 6*d.* *The Empire.* Price 2*s.* 6*d.* All published by Thomas Nelson and Sons, London, Edinburgh, and New York.

Perhaps there is no subject in the curriculum of Madras High Schools in which the want of a satisfactory text-book is more felt than in History. Neither in Indian History nor in English History is there any book in common use which can rank with many dealing with other subjects that might be mentioned. The want is even more felt in English than in Indian History, for the latter at least is concerned with a country and institutions that are not alien. Any book that would meet this want would be most welcome, and publishers on the one side and educationists on the other will do useful work in providing or discovering such a book.

The three books named at the head of this notice have their own advantages. The Intermediate History is well adapted to create interest in the subject and give to the different periods of English History more reality. Its method is to sum up a period in a few lines; then to give a vivid account of some single interesting event or person belonging to that period; and to add 'Notes and Meanings,' Questions, a Summary of the Lesson. Excellent as it is, the book scarcely fits our Madras curriculum, but this points rather to a fault in the curriculum than to any defect in the book.

The same remark applies to the Royal History but on other grounds. If the Intermediate History is suited to a stage below the Matriculation, the Royal History is suited to a stage above it. It is probably too long and too full for our High Schools, and is too difficult for our Fourth and Fifth forms. The Madras curriculum, between the requirements of the Educational Rules and the University syllabus, plays, it is true, on all Histories the old trick of letting them fall between two stools. For it is almost impossible that the same book should be simple enough for Form IV in its earlier parts and sufficient for Form VI in its later Teachers of English History in High Schools might wisely provide themselves with this book. Its maps, questions, and notes on Contemporary Foreign Events would be of great service to them.

The Empire seems to us to approach the book we need as nearly as any we have seen. It is printed in clear good type on good paper. It is written in a straightforward interesting style which High School pupils may well imitate. It is not too long. Most things of importance in English History are set forth, but no attempt is made to drag in all events, big and little. The book is described as a Reader and this secures a freedom from dryness and a descriptiveness which adapt it for Indian pupils. The Outline of the History which is given as the first Appendix furnishes a suitable complement. This is followed by descriptions of the British Empire and the British Constitution and a Geographical Appendix.

Pictures, maps and genealogical tables are given in plenty. Of the pictures a few are fanciful, but many are portraits. We have noticed a number of small points in which correction is desirable, *e.g.*, the statements that Lord Howard of Effingham was a Roman Catholic, that Thomas Cromwell made a law forbidding people accused of high treason to be heard in their own defence, that for men to lose caste means that their neighbours will not speak to them, that Buckingham of the Cabal was 'Prime Minister.'

LITERARY NOTES.

Mr. J. Holland Rose whose *Life of Napoleon* is generally regarded as the best work on its subject in English is now writing a survey of the

most important series of events in the world's history since 1870. It is said that his work will be a serious attempt to correlate the movements of the nations in these recent years and to provide for the general reader a means of judging of the import of current events.

The need of verifying one's quotations was well illustrated in a review that appeared in the *Academy* recently. The reviewer in quoting a passage from Marmion—the pseudo-ballad which Surtees palmed off on Sir Walter Scott as a genuine "relique"—makes no fewer than three misquotations in as many lines.

The *Athenæum* is very severe on Mr. W. S. Lilly's book on *India and its Problems.* It describes it as "a grave disappointment" and says it is "something between a pocket gazetteer and a polemical pamphlet, and has the faults of both publications. It does not contain sufficient authentic information to be useful as a book of reference, it wearies the reader with the general character of its views and the substitution of rhetoric for judgment and homely sense." Mr. Lilly was for a short time a member of the Madras Civil Service.

The propensity of the Scot to wander into foreign parts and his capacity for making himself at home therein has long formed a subject for remarks, appreciative or sarcastic. Dr. Johnson's ponderous and somewhat ill-natured pleasantries on the subject are well-known but this national characteristic had been observed long before his time, and it cannot be said that it has become less striking in the course of the nineteenth century. Some forty years ago the late John Hill Burton wrote an exceedingly interesting book on *The Scot Abroad* and it is not surprising that with the development of historical inquiry the same subject should now attract other writers. Two additions have recently been made to this "Scot abroad" literature. *The Scot in Germany* by Mr. Fischer and *The Scotch-Irish; or the Scot in North Britain, North Ireland and North America* by Mr. C. A. Hanna. According to the *Athenaeum* the last named work "is chiefly a vast quarry but not a structure." It is interesting to learn that according to Mr. Hanna the American war of Independence was "nothing more or less than an Irish-Scotch Presbyterian Rebellion." The good people of Boston would probably hardly agree with that opinion, but then Mr. Hanna regards the people of New England as "insular." It is well, lest Scotsmen should be unduly puffed up, that there lives a person named T. W. H. Crosland who considers it is sacred mission to hold a mirror up to Scotsmen and to let them see themselves as others see them, if not as they really are. In the execution of this mission he has written a book called *The Unspeakable Scot.* This epoch-making work was to have

appeared on the 10th of June, but Mr. Crosland writes to the Academy to say "I came to the conclusion that it would be a pity to set two nations by the ears at the coronation time, and its issue has consequently been deferred until July 8th"! Mr. Crosland is evidently not a Scot—his sense of humour is so strong. How thankful Scotsmen throughout the Empire would have felt that had they only known that the eruption was postponed for a month, but Reuter somehow failed to telegraph the fact to India.

A poem that is often quoted—sometimes misquoted—by the self-exiled Scot is the one that begins with the lines

> "From the lone shieling of the misty island
> Mountains divide us and a waste of seas."

Hitherto it has been generally ascribed to the Earl of Eglinton, but Messrs. Blackwood, in whose *Magazine* it first appeared in September 1829, have shown reason for believing that it is from the pen of a much better-known man. The manuscript was written by Lockhart—the biographer and son-in-law of Sir Walter Scott—and the only hint he gives as to its authorship is that it was sent to him "by a friend in Upper Canada." As the same number of the *Magazine* contains an article by John Galt, Messrs. Blackwood have come to the conclusion that Galt is the "friend" referred to by Lockhart. Galt's novels are perhaps not much read nowadays, but yet no other writer has been so successful in depicting Scottish provincial life, and it will be surprising if we do not some time see a revival of interest in his works. Galt went to Canada for some years and his son Sir Alexander Galt rose to be finance minister there, and was for sometime High Commissioner for Canada in Britain.

The authorised account of the tour of the Prince and Princess of Wales has been written by Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace and published by Messrs. Macmillan under the title of *The Web of Empire*. The most striking chapter in it appears to be the one in which the author deals with the question of Imperial Federation. Many causes have combined during the past few years to bring that question within the sphere of practical politics, and there is a very real danger that the British peoples having wakened from their apathy may be inclined to go into the other extreme. A man like Sir D. M. Wallace cannot be accused of having no sympathy with imperial ideas and therefore it is well that he should appeal for deliberation and warn against the adoption of ill-considered schemes. He says "I would warn our Federationists at home that, in the preparation of any definite schemes, it might be well to respect, in a greater measure than they usually do, the individuality of the various units of which our sporadic, heterogeneous Empire is composed."

Signs are not lacking to indicate that Sir Conan Doyle's patriotic attempt to disperse some of the continental ignorance as to the true origin and character of the war in South Africa has not been without result. Whether his pamphlet has been as successful as one could wish may be doubted, but there is no doubt that it has been a success pecuniarily, for it is stated that the net profit from it amounts to £1,400. Most of this sum Sir Conan Doyle proposes to devote to the endowment of a scholarship in Edinburgh University for the benefit of South African students.

SCIENCE NOTES.

The terrible volcanic eruptions in Martinique and St. Vincent occurred at the same time as a number of disasters in other parts of the world. This has suggested to many the idea that they were connected and due in some way to a common cause. Here we had cyclones in both the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea, the one proving destructive as it passed inland at Rangoon, wrecking the *Camorta* and other ships, while the other was as violent at Karachi. In the United States a terrible tornado swept over Texas and caused great destruction, and in Tennessee an explosion took place in a coal mine, causing the death of three hundred men. Sir Norman Lockyer, in a letter to the *Times*, states that half a century ago Wolf suggested a connection between solar and seismic activity and that he himself had examined the data obtained during the past seventy years and found it beyond question that the most disastrous volcanic eruptions and earthquakes generally occurred, like the rain pulses in India, round the dates of the sun-spot maximum and minimum.

Sir Norman Lockyer says that he can trace in the records of seismic disturbances not only the sun-spot maxima and minima of the 11-year period but also the 35-year period. There is thus an intensification of the phenomena at the present time similar to what took place at the minimum of 1867. In that year Mauna Loa, South America, Formosa, Vesuvius were among the regions involved; in the West Indies the eruptions were at St. Thomas. At the maximum of 1871-72 there were eruptions at Martinique and St. Vincent, and at the next maximum, in 1883, came the eruption of Krakatoa. In Japan, where so much seismological work has been done, it has been found that at times near both sun-spot maxima and minima the greatest number of disturbances have been recorded.

Volcanic ash fell very thickly at Barbados in consequence of the eruption on St. Vincent. The direction of the wind was from the east, *i.e.*, from Barbados to St. Vincent, but there must have been a current

in the opposite direction in the upper strata of the atmosphere. The ash covered everything with a grey mantle of impalpable dust to a depth of half an inch. It has been estimated that nearly two million tons fell over Barbados. A preliminary examination showed that, contrary to expectation, the ash was of no fertilising value, though it might tend to improve the texture of the surface layers of heavy clay lands. This has been confirmed by analyses subsequently made in England. These show that the ash consists principally of plagioclase felspar allied to labradorite, hypersthene, monoclinic augite and magnetite. The crystals have very little glass adhering to them. It is this glassy matter which represents the mother liquor and which would have been useful as a fertiliser owing to its higher percentage of potash.

The Royal Society of London and the Paris Academy of Sciences have decided to send scientific expeditions to the scenes of the eruptions. Among those sent by the Royal Society are Dr. Flett, the petrologist to the Geological Survey, and Dr. Tempest Anderson, the explorer, who has done so much in the way of examining and photographing volcanic phenomena. The object of these expeditions is to obtain trustworthy accounts of the eruptions and collect specimens of the materials ejected, as far as possible, in chronological order, and to ascertain the changes which have been made in the physical geography of the district. It is hoped that they may be able to ascertain whether the eruptions have taken place from different sources. At present it seems as if the orifices led from the same fissure in the earth's crust, as the eruptions took place almost simultaneously. It has also been pointed out that "both eruptions have been preceded by a long pause, during which a column of heated material may have been kept standing for several years in the neck of the volcanoes. If so, that would be very favourable to magnetic differentiation, and this might be revealed on chemical and microscopic examination of the materials discharged during the successive stages of the eruptions."

It has not yet been made clear what was the exact cause of the sudden destruction of life in the neighbourhood of the eruptions. A survivor on the *Roddam*—the steamer which escaped from the harbour of St. Pierre, when the eruption took place, because it had just entered and steam was still up—states that they seemed to be enveloped in a whirlwind of fire while an immense quantity of white-hot volcanic ash was showered upon them. "Even those who reached the cabin or hold," he says, "did not escape, almost every nook and cranny of the ship being filled with the blazing dust." Professor A. E. Verrill considers that the ejection of explosive gases was one of the causes of the sudden destruction of life. "The heat was sufficient," says

Professor Verrill, "to cause the dissociation of hydrogen and oxygen from the water on coming suddenly into contact with highly heated lava, and in the case of sea-water the chlorine would also be dissociated from the sodium. The people were mostly killed by the sudden explosion of a vast volume of hydrogen and oxygen. The chlorine, at the same time, combining with some of the hydrogen, would produce hydrochloric acid, a poisonous and suffocating gas, which would quickly kill most of those not instantly destroyed by the explosion."

Professor A. C. Haddon draws attention in *Nature* to a valuable paper on the Coorgs and the Yeruvas which has been published by Mr. T. H. Holland of the Geological Survey. These two races present an interesting contrast as they have occupied the mountainous and jungle-covered country they inhabit for totally different purposes and have developed accordingly. The Yeruvas found it a place of retreat from the aggressive invaders of the plains, while the Coorgs migrated there at a later period because it gave scope for their hunting propensities. The Coorg is on an average 3·9 inches taller than the Yeruva, and with a relatively shorter span he has a larger and broader head and a more perfect approach to orthognathism. The Yeruvas fall into a group with the Kurumbas, Irulas, Paniyans and Kadirs, and resemble the Kols and Ghonds of the central highlands. The Coorgs, on the other hand, possess more of the superior characteristics which are supposed to indicate an Aryan origin than do many of the South Indian tribes who claim a higher caste position and fewer signs of aboriginal blood than even the Brahmins of the Madras Presidency. However, their almost brachycephalic index of 79.9, adds Professor Haddon, leaves the question of their ethnic relationship an unsolved problem.

At the last meeting of the Zoological Society for the season, Dr. Forsyth-Major announced that his recent journey to Brussels on behalf of the British Museum had resulted in the Congo State authorities allowing him to bring back to London the specimen of the Okapi which had just reached Brussels from the Congo forest. This specimen, the skull of which was shown to the members present, is the second one known of this remarkable quadruped, and is that of an adult male, while the original specimen, discovered by Sir Harry Johnston, and now in the Natural History Museum, is a young female. Dr. Major inclines to the view that the Okapi is far from being a degenerate form of giraffe, and believes it to belong to a distinct family midway between the extinct Samotherium of the Siwalik Hills of India and Samos and the living giraffe. It was stated by Dr. Boulanger that a report had been received in Brussels that specimens of the Okapi had been found in the Mangbattu forest, north-west of Lake Albert. If this is really the case, the

Okapi must have a wide geographical distribution in Africa and it is strange that it should have so long remained unknown.

Another specimen of the Mylodon, the extinct giant sloth of Patagonia has been found in the same cavern in Last Hope inlet, Patagonia, as the specimen the discovery of which by Dr. F. Moreno in 1897 caused such a sensation among zoologists. It consists of a large piece of skin and a number of bones and has been purchased by the British Museum. The skin is so well preserved that it seems likely that the giant sloth did not become extinct at such a remote date as has hitherto been supposed.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

The great national interests involved in the Shipping Combine effected by Mr. Pierpont Morgan, to which we referred in our 'Notes' last month, are dealt with in the *Nineteenth Century and After* in two articles, the one by Mr. Edmund Robertson, late Civil Lord of the Admiralty, the other by Mr. Hugh R. E. Childers. It will be remembered that a feeling of relief followed the consternation that was felt on the publication of the news of the Combine, when it was known that the ships belonging to British Companies would continue to fly the British flag. It was a puzzle to many, however, how this was permissible when the ships were owned in the United States, and it is still difficult to understand what advantage the owners get by sailing their ships under the Red Ensign. The former difficulty is cleared up by Mr. Robertson. It appears that there is a strange inconsistency in our shipping legislation. A ship to be registered as a British ship must nominally be held by British owners. An alien cannot be technically the owner of a British ship. But—and it is here that the inconsistency is introduced—a corporate body may be the nominal or technical owners within the King's Dominions, while the law allows all the shares to be held by aliens. It is this, it would seem, that has happened in the present case. The companies owning the 'White Star' and other Lines have been combined to form the Oceanic Steam Navigation Company. For the purposes of British registration this new Company owns the ships, while all the shares of the Company are held in the United States. It is not clear, however, what advantage Mr. Morgan gains by this. It may of course have been made a condition of the sale by patriotic ship-owners; but we are suspicious of a claim to patriotism in a purely commercial transaction, and it seems much more likely that the inconsistency of the law has been taken advantage of to secure the continuance of the subsidy which some of the ships of the vendors received from Government. Subsidised ships are liable to be requisitioned as armed cruisers in time of war, while other ships of the Lines receiving subsidies have to be placed at the disposal of Government. Whether the pecuniary advantage of the British subsidy outweighs that which would result from the ships being nominally as well as really American we are not in a position to say; but we may rest assured that the British Government will not continue the subsidy if it be found that in the event of war it cannot claim the use of the ships. Mr. Robertson and Mr. Childers desire to have the anomaly removed from the law, but if it really be accidental, as seems to be the case, it is just possible that it may be more expedient to perpetuate it.

Mr. Sidney Webb contributes an interesting and elaborate article on London University. He endeavours to frame a policy for the University under its new constitution. He recognises that it can never hope to compete with the older universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It cannot,

for example, be a residential University, and its *clientèle* will belong, speaking generally, to a different class of Society. London is a province rather than a city, and has a population about as great as that of Holland or Belgium and much greater than that of Scotland. It will be necessary to establish Colleges in the different districts of the University area, and the curricula of each of these will be determined according to the needs of the district by the senate which will be organised into faculties. Mr. Webb would have the professors in the various Colleges appointed and paid by the Senate. Besides undergraduate teaching, there ought to be post-graduate instruction and research, and a staff of professors at leisure from actual time-table teaching so that they may look themselves to the advancement of every department of science and knowledge. All this would imply command of large resources, and Mr. Sidney Webb's estimate is a capital sum of five millions sterling. This ought not to be beyond the limits of attainment by the Metropolis of the British Empire, but it is a scheme far beyond the resources of an Indian province. For India as in London, post-graduate instruction and research work resolve themselves into a question of money.

As might be expected, the magazines this month are full of Mr. Rhodes. The sketch given of him by Mr. Iwan-Müller in the *Fortnightly* strikes us as singularly discriminating. A good idea of Mr. Rhodes's character, says this writer, might be given by the following metaphor, "Elizabethan wine stored in a Roman amphora." Mr. Müller admits that in many ways Rhodes was frankly pagan. This it seems as well to admit at the start, and nothing is gained by speaking of Mr. Rhodes being a man of faith, and then to explain that his faith was in the Anglo-Saxon race. This is to confuse words. Nothing that we have seen or read points to the slightest influence of Christian faith upon Mr. Rhodes's character. One trait of his character is shown distinctly by his words—"I have endeavoured to combine the commercial with the imaginative." By 'the imaginative' he did not mean 'the ideal,' he simply implied the possibilities of material prosperity which were certainties to his mind, but yet anything but so clear to more calculating minds. The breadth of his outlook was extraordinary, and yet there was always that narrowness which is inseparable from schemes which take little account of the highest moral and spiritual conceptions. The fearlessness of Mr. Rhodes's character is seen in his interview with the German Emperor. He told that august potentate, in the course of an interview, that his subjects in Africa were the most lethargic, unprogressive people in the world. He also took the opportunity of informing him that his famous telegram to Kruger was of immense advantage to himself, as it shifted the British wrath which was about to fall on him on to the German Emperor. The Kaiser is said to have remarked after the interview "I have met a man." Again, Rhodes would never answer any calumny. "We colonists," he would remark, "are not so soft-skinned as people at home." Mr. Müller considers that the great mistake which Mr. Rhodes made was, not anything connected with the Jameson raid, but consistent under-estimation of the depth and bitterness of Dutch antipathy to British ideas. For fourteen years Rhodes tried to bring about the fusion of Dutch and British, but as time went on he saw that the combination was not to be successful. Hence he broke with the Afrikander Bond, and hence came his connection with the Raid. The writer of this article, who seems to know many things from the inside, is writing a book in which it will be seen that the Raid as it was in the mind of Rhodes differed greatly from the Raid as actually carried out. One remarkable feature of Rhodes's life was his unselfishness. He accumulated a fortune of six million pounds sterling, yet he lived in simplicity, and for the gratification of his personal wants never spent a thousand a year. He was so occupied with his one grand object of extending the British Empire that to get a new set of clothes or to get married appeared distinct hindrances. Sympathy, as usually understood, with any expression of emotion, was practically included by Rhodes

in the same category. Mr. Müller's opinion of his friend is given shortly in these words—"I make no claim for Cecil Rhodes that he was a good man in the usually accepted sense of the term. I do claim that he was a great man, and a very great man, and that as such he must be tried by the standards we apply to his equals in the court of history."

Mr. Dicey also writes on Rhodes, and one remark of his is illuminative —'to me personally it is difficult to associate Rhodes with the idea of a home.' That seems to us to explain a great deal of Rhodes's career. Mr. Dicey saw a good deal of Mr. Rhodes in Cairo where, he says, most people take it easy, yet even while he was there Rhodes did a full day's work while he imagined himself to be taking a holiday. Mr. Dicey says that the last time he saw Rhodes in Egypt, the great colonial seemed to be less wrapt in his own projects, more considerate of others, in a word more human.

Mr. F. C. S. Schiller tries to estimate the effect upon Oxford of Mr. Rhodes's benefactions. In the first place he notices that the way in which the scholarships have been left to the University makes it impossible for the University to do anything but take them. The benefactor, says Mr. Schiller, evidently saw that the greatest obstacle to Oxford's being benefited was Oxford itself. As to effects, it is clear that the introduction into the University of one hundred and seventy Rhodes scholars will largely modify the insularity of the present members of the University; both senior and junior America, the Colonies, and Germany will be in Oxford, and each as represented by their educational systems. This is bound to make a difference. Besides this many of these scholars will be senior men. So a good deal of the schoolboyishness that obtains in undergraduate circles will be mitigated. The influence of the American scholars is sure to be considerable, for many of these will be graduate scholars. Thus will full advantage be taken of the new degrees of Bachelor of Science and Bachelor of Letters, each leading to their respective Doctorates. The coming of these men will also give to professors and lecturers an opportunity which will doubtless be welcomed. There will be an audience for advanced subjects, and perhaps the formation of *seminars*. The presence of so many researchers may help to stop the present examination craze. Mr. Schiller's forecast seems to very much coincide with some of the results which Cambridge has experienced in opening its walls to research students, though there, of course, the number is smaller than 170 and is always bound to be.

Professor Bradley has a keen analysis of the 'Rejection of Falstaff,' by Henry V. Why was Falstaff cast off in the way he was by the new king? Certainly not, says Mr. Bradley, because Shakespeare wishes our feelings to be alienated from Sir John, but because in this play Shakespeare missed what he aimed at. In fact Shakespeare, though he was Shakespeare, in the Falstaff scenes overshot his mark.

The *Contemporary* for June contains some interesting matter. Mr. F. Edmund Garrett, the editor of *the Cape Times* describes from personal knowledge the character of Cecil Rhodes. He defends him against the charges of immorality and cowardice, maintains that he was consistently and unselfishly imperialist; but admits that he was sometimes brutally cynical, and unscrupulous as to the means and instruments he employed to obtain his ends, that he had little capacity for friendship and was implacable towards professing friends who had once supported him and ceased to do so—a big man apparently in every way, and very interesting but not attractive.

Professor A. Seth Pringle-Pattison contributes a very able criticism of Mr. Kidd's book on "The Principles of Western Civilization." Mr. Kidd has, he says, added nothing to the stock of ideas in his "Social Evolution" published eight years ago; but those on which he concentrates attention in the present work reappear under quasi-philosophical titles which are intended to magnify their importance but which in reality tend to obscure their meaning. Mr. Kidd's main thesis is that the evolutionary process, acting through competition and natural selection, works in the interests of the future, for what he calls projected efficiency; that the principle of Western civilization or Modern Civilization is the ascendency of the future as contrasted with ancient Civilization which was

based entirely on the ascendency of the present; and that the source of this new departure was the Christian call to sacrifice the present in the interests of the future. Mr. Pringle-Pattison, points out that Mr. Kidd inconsistently speaks at one time as if unlimited competition were the highest ideal and at another praises Christianity for modifying the ruthless operation of natural selection; that he seems to commend sacrifice for sacrifice's sake; that in fixing attention entirely on the future, he reduces human life to futility, a pursuit of a goal never attained; that natural selection strictly speaking regards not the future but adaptability to present environment; that his characterisation of ancient civilisation is far too sweeping; that the Christian antithesis between the present and the future is of an entirely different order from that of which Mr. Kidd speaks, and the most typical Christians would have felt little interest in the future in the mundane sense in which he uses the term; the future they looked for was one outside the cosmic process altogether. Christianity has profoundly influenced the development of modern civilization; but the most fundamental Christian idea which has worked like a slow leaven in modern civilization is the idea of a perfectly Universal brotherhood based on the doctrine of a common divine sonship. Mr. Kidd has however done great service in pointing out so forcibly that the intellectual basis of the utilitarian theory has been completely struck away and still greater service in showing that the opposite ideals of Marxian Socialism are vitiated by the same error, the exclusive pre-occupation with material well-being and the purely economic interpretation of history. The fabric of human history, rests ultimately on ethical conceptions, and the history of mankind is essentially the development of man's ethical ideals. It is the forcible and often fresh presentation of this perennial truth, rather than any new philosophical construction of history which gives the book its vitality.

COLLEGE NOTES.

Mr. Paul Appaswamy, B.A., who two years ago passed from the Christian College to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, has passed the first part of the History Tripos in the First Class. He has thus repeated the success of an earlier 'Christian College old boy' at Cambridge, Mr. R. Narayana Iyer, now of the I. C. S. We understand that Mr. Appaswamy is intending to follow further in Mr. Narayanan's steps and next year to appear for the second part of the History Tripos and for the I. C. S. Our readers will join us in heartiest congratulations to him and to the father who sent him to Cambridge.

We have heard from Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddy, Government Scholar, that with Mr. Skinner he has safely reached England, and from the Senior Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge, that he has been admitted to that College.

Messrs. Pittendrigh and Morren arrived in India on their return from furlough on July 12th.

We should be glad to add to the interest of these College Notes by giving any news about old students of the College that would enable them to keep more in touch with one another, if our readers and others will help us by sending us the necessary information.

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